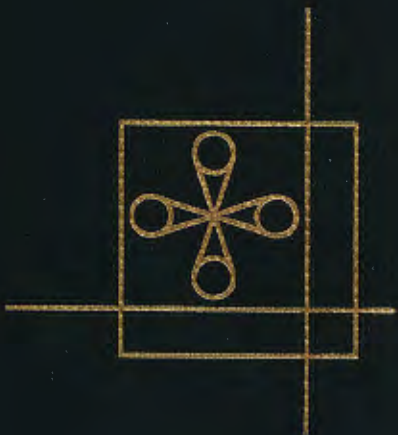




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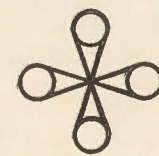
EGYPTIAN SERVANT STATUE



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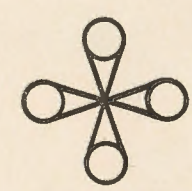
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JAMES HENRY BREASTED, Jr.

EGYPTIAN SERVANT STATUES

A good discourse is more hidden than
the precious green stone, and yet is
it found with slave-girls over the
millstones. (PTAHHOTEP)



THE BOLLINGEN SERIES XIII

PANTHEON BOOKS

15



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TO "UNCLE GEORGE" STEINDORFF,
MY FATHER'S LIFE-LONG FRIEND
AND COLLEAGUE, WHO FIRST
SUGGESTED THIS STUDY.

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ABBREVIATIONS¹

Annales:	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
ÄZ:	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
JEA:	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
Mar. Alb. Phot.:	Mariette, <i>Album du Musée de Boulaq</i>
Mar., Mast.:	Mariette, <i>Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire</i>
MFA:	Museum of Fine Arts
Petrie, <i>Preh. Eg.</i> :	Petrie, <i>Prehistoric Egypt</i>
RAR:	Klebs, <i>Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches</i>
RMR:	Klebs, <i>Die Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reiches</i>
Scharff, <i>Altertümer</i> :	Scharff, <i>Die Altertümer der Vor-und Frühzeit Ägyptens</i>
Scharff, <i>Handbuch</i> :	Scharff, "Ägypten" in <i>Handbuch der Archäologie</i>
Smith, <i>Sculpture</i> :	Smith, <i>A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom</i>
Wtb, or Wörterbuch:	Erman-Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache</i>

¹Obvious shortened titles or abbreviations are not included.

EGYPTIAN SERVANT STATUES

INTRODUCTION

EGYPTIAN servant figures are the earliest known representations in three-dimensional sculpture of domestic servants anywhere in the world. However, except for an article written by Ludwig Borchardt in 1897,¹ the evolution of objects falling into this category has not received much serious attention. It is the purpose of this monograph to list and discuss briefly examples of servant-figure statues as they fit into the framework of ancient Egyptian domestic life.

The term "servant figure" in this discussion will include not only three-dimensional representations of human beings engaged in menial tasks for the benefit of the deceased, but also other human figures in stone or wood placed in the burial apparently as aids to reconstruction of the daily life experienced by the Egyptian on earth. Thus we shall investigate all types of statues found in Egyptian graves and tombs, which might conceivably be intended to facilitate and make pleasant the material existence of the dead person in his or her hereafter. This will not include, of course, the statues of the deceased and wife, found particularly in Old-Kingdom mastabas.

There would seem also to be a special category of objects resembling servant figures, but really quite apart from them. They are perhaps best described as knickknack pieces of sculpture, amusing objects present in houses more or less for artistic reasons, or as play-things and having no relation to funeral purposes. Figures² of a dog and man and of men pushing a boat may belong in this category. However, as they may be servant figures, they have not been omitted from this study. On the other hand, I have excluded the little Eighteenth-dynasty wooden cosmetic figurines because, although they represent servants, they enjoyed practical use in real life and were not primarily intended to facilitate the existence of the deceased in the hereafter. They are thus not servant statues.

A word should be said about the "seated scribe." The term "scribe" has been rather loosely used to denote both high officials and routine clerks. Not even the latter were menials. In this monograph the term "clerk" denotes a scribe in a clerking capacity. There does not seem to have been found any seated scribe as a separate single figure among undoubted servant figures. Indeed, the figures of a scribe and of a man reading found by Junker at Giza not only are much larger in size than true servant figures, but also one of the statues bears the name of the tomb owner. It would appear, therefore, that these are Ka-statues of the deceased in two aspects of his position as a high state official.³ I have concluded that although a number of scribal statues have come down from the Old Kingdom, not one of these may be identified as a servant figure. After the First Inter-

¹"Die Dienerstatuen aus den Gräbern des Alten Reiches" in *ÄZ*, 35, pp. 119-34.

²Discussed on pp. 85 and 101.

³Junker, *Vorbericht*, 1913, p. 184 and pl. 9; Scharff, *Handbuch*, p. 520; but cf. Ranke, "Die archaische Statue eines Schreibenden," in *ÄZ*, 75, p. 90, n.1; Junker, *Giza VII*, pp. 100-103, 105-108, pl. 19-22.

mediate period clerks appear among servant figures.⁴ And where clerks do occur in group models they are included in this subject.

In certain instances it was difficult to determine the precise nature of the task performed by the servant figures. This was particularly true of the single figures found throughout the Old Kingdom. Reference to scenes from tomb walls was valuable; footnotes in the following chapters give parallels and similarities to Miss Klebs'⁵ volumes dealing with Old- and Middle-Kingdom reliefs. It was most helpful also to refer to model scenes from the First Intermediate period and the Middle Kingdom. Here each member of a group is represented as performing a different job in a process. The process and the finished product are rather easily recognized. Each figure helps to explain the others.

Examples falling within the category servant statues as defined are not restricted to dynastic times, but go back toward the beginning of civilization in the Nile Valley. Bit by bit over the past half century the pre-Old-Kingdom evidence of precursors of dynastic servant figures has been discovered and partially published. There is, on the other hand, no evidence of the existence of servant statues either during the Third dynasty, or during the greater part of the Fourth. Of course there are other lacunae in existing Egyptian cultural material, and no definite conclusion as to the cause for this offers itself. The system of dating follows conventional lines: Predynastic, Early dynastic, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth dynasties; to the First Intermediate period are assigned servant models dating from the end of the Sixth dynasty to the restoration of national order toward the middle of the Eleventh dynasty; models definitely attributable to either the Eleventh or Twelfth dynasty have been so assigned — others whose dating is less precise have been listed under Middle Kingdom. The main evolution of servant statues ended with the start of the second half of the Twelfth dynasty. In the Empire there are one or two survivals, however, which round out the full development.

Not infrequently I have been troubled by questions of conflicting dates for the same object. In such cases I have taken into consideration style, archaeological evidence, current opinion of living specialists, and my own views. When there was no easy solution, I have followed the dating in the Porter-Moss *Topographical Bibliography*, which is perhaps the most reliable and consistent compendium in modern scientific literature dealing with Egypt, for it is based upon careful comparison of the opinions of primary authorities.

Certain general characteristics may be touched upon here in order to save space later. Beginning with Predynastic times single human figures in ivory or clay and later stone or wood were placed in the burials and tombs. Crudely made and somewhat indeterminate as to form at first, they have been considered as servant statues simply because they evidently were not meant to represent the deceased himself or herself. Later details become more definite. In the Old Kingdom the types or occupations became fixed.

Until late in the Sixth dynasty, servant statues occurred singly, or occasionally in groups of two. But single figures were so conceived and executed that they could become a part of a group, in which each individual performed a different task for the deceased. The largest known stone group of separate figures of this kind, made for Nikauanupe, a

⁴B. van de Walle, "A propos d'une figurine de scribe acquise par le département égyptien des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire," in *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, troisième série, 7^e année, Sept.-Oct., 1935, pp. 106-111.

⁵*Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches*, 1915; *Die Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reiches*, 1922.

cemetery official of the late Fifth or Sixth dynasty, included at least twenty-six figures.⁶

Older ivory and clay traditions in servant figures disappeared almost wholly before the Fourth dynasty. Limestone and wood became the leading materials in the Old Kingdom. While many more of the stone examples have survived, we know from existing stone accessories and actual wooden statuettes that in the Sixth dynasty wooden servant figures were quite common.

During the First Intermediate period the servant figures exist singly only in the case of individuals carrying supplies for the deceased. Otherwise, the group predominates, and industrial processes are represented in much greater detail. This period was one of disorder, which explains somewhat the poor quality of the servant models. They are sometimes barely recognizable as representations of human beings.

The number and variety of the models from the Middle Kingdom are far greater than the combined total for the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate period. The Middle Kingdom marks the high point in the servant figure tradition. The material used was generally wood. While the models are not as informative as the painted wall scenes and reliefs, they alone present a fuller picture of Egyptian life than the three-dimensional sculpture of any other ancient culture.

During the time that servant statues were used a most important shift occurred in respect to the location of the statues in the burial. As long as the serdab was a regular architectural feature of the mastaba, the figures were placed there, along with small-scale representations of the owner and his wife or sister. The undisturbed Fifth-dynasty serdab of Zasha contained four figures of the owner in addition to sixteen servant statues. Under the upset social conditions of the latter part of the Sixth dynasty the superstructures of tombs were not very safe from robbery. The serdab was gradually abandoned. Servant figures began to move in the direction of the burial chamber. In one case, in the tomb of Meryrê-ḥashetef at Sedment, the servant figures and three nude statues of the owner were placed about ten feet down in the filling of the shaft.⁷ The next step was into the burial chamber itself. Here they were to remain, as the tombs of the First Intermediate period and the Middle Kingdom indicate.⁸ They are placed either on or adjacent to the sarcophagus. Occasionally the old serdab conception is applied in the burial chamber, as in the tomb of Ni'ankh-Pepy-Kem at Meir. Here in a hole in the center of the floor of the burial chamber were hidden the largest number of servant figures actually found in an Old Kingdom tomb. But this is exceptional. Sometimes, as at Abusir,⁹ servant figures are in a niche in the north wall of the burial chamber.

The matter of spelling Egyptian names is a problem. I have tried to use the spelling of the best available publication referred to in which the given object appears or is discussed. But where the spelling in an old primary source seems to have been superseded by modern usage, I have turned to the Porter-Moss *Topographical Bibliography*. Obviously, some inconsistency of spelling has resulted.

⁶Belonging to the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. The group was purchased in 1920 in Cairo from Nicholas Tano, who claimed Giza as the provenance. Cf. Breasted, "University of Chicago Expedition to the Near East (1919-1920)," *University Record*, vol. VII, No. 1 (1921), pp. 9-10.

⁷Cf. Petrie, *Sedment*, I, p. 2.

⁸With the exception of the late Eleventh dynasty tomb of Meketre, where models were found in a small room equivalent to a serdab, sunk into the corridor. But the burial chamber, which was robbed, may also have contained models.

⁹Cf. Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, p. 8, Dyn. VI, 6.

Wherever possible I have included with each object its present location and its museum or catalog number. But where no present location is known I have listed the piece under its original provenance, where that was available.

From each type or group I have selected one or more examples to describe rather fully as to pose, color, technique, etc. Other examples are listed more briefly unless they vary greatly from the representative specimens.

It is my purpose to publish discussions of the artistic value of servant statues at a later date.

I have almost entirely excluded inscriptions from this study, for the reason that they give no new information regarding specific statues. They are far from numerous, and where they occur, usually consist of nothing more than the name of the person represented. In some cases, the model papyrus roll in the lap of a seated clerk is inscribed with granary notations. There were no formulae nor charms written on servant statues, nothing to compare with the formulae inscribed on ushebti figures.

I should like to express my appreciation and gratitude to the following for their advice and assistance: At University Museum, in Philadelphia, Professor Hermann Ranke, under whose direction the work was initiated, Miss Carroll R. Young and Miss Copp; at the Metropolitan Museum, in New York, Dr. Ambrose Lansing, Curator of the Department of Egyptian Art, and Mrs. Ralph Phillips; at the Museum of Fine Arts, in Boston, Dr. Dows Dunham, Curator of the Department of Egyptian Art, Dr. William Stevenson Smith, who permitted me to read the proof of his book since published on the Sculpture and Painting of the Old Kingdom, and Miss Elizabeth Eaton; at the Cleveland Museum of Art, Miss Silvia Wunderlich; in Toledo, Mrs. Grant Williams; at the Brooklyn Museum, Mr. John D. Cooney, Curator of the Department of Egyptian Art; at University College, London, Professor S. R. K. Glanville; at the British Museum, Mr. Sidney Smith, Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities; at the FitzWilliam Museum, in Cambridge, Dr. F. W. Green; at the Bristol Museum, Dr. H. W. Maxwell; at the Manchester Museum, Miss Mary S. Shaw; at the Liverpool Museum, Miss E. Tankard; at the Dundee Museum, Mr. A. S. Webster; at the Royal Scottish Museum, in Edinburgh, Dr. Cyril Aldred; at the Anthropological Museum, in Aberdeen, Dr. Ralph Piddington; at the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, in Toronto, Dr. C. T. Currelly, and Miss Winifred Needler; at the Louvre Museum, in Paris, Dr. Jacques Vandier; at the Musée Guimet, in Paris, Mme. Marianne Guentch-Ogloueff; at the Musée Municipal de l'Évêché, in Limoges, Dr. J. Delpech-Laborie, and Monsieur Didier; at the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, in Brussels, the late Professor Jean Capart, and Mme. Eléonore Bille-De Mot; at the Allard Pierson Museum, in Amsterdam, Dr. G. A. S. Snijder; at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, in Leiden, Dr. W. D. Van Wijngaarden; at the Berlin Museum, Dr. Rudolf Anthes; at the Pelizaeus-Museum, in Hildesheim, Dr. G. Roeder; at the Aegyptische Sammlung, in Munich, Professor Alexander Scharff, and Dr. Hellmut Brunner; at the Ägyptologisches Institut, in Leipzig, Professor George Steindorff; at the Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, in Copenhagen, Dr. Otto Koefoed-Petersen; at the National Museum, in Copenhagen, Miss Marie-Louise v. Buhl; at the Museo Archeologico, in Florence, Dr. Giuseppe Botti, and Dr. Antonio Minto.

Among the museums mentioned above I am particularly indebted to the following for permitting me to have access to, and to include in this study, unpublished material: University Museum, Metropolitan Museum, Museum of Fine Arts, Cleveland Museum

of Art, Nelson Gallery in Kansas City, Albright Gallery in Buffalo, Royal Scottish Museum, Anthropological Museum in Aberdeen, Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Musée Guimet, Musée Municipal de l'Évêché at Limoges, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Aegyptische Sammlung in Munich, Ägyptologisches Institut in Leipzig, and the National Museum in Copenhagen.

In the case of unpublished material from foreign museums included in this study, I have received information or descriptions through the kindness of those persons named above at the particular museum in question.

It is to be regretted that forces beyond my control prevented the investigation and inclusion in this study of servant statues in the Turin Museum in Northern Italy, and in the former Beöthy Collection, now in the possession of the University of Uppsala, Sweden.

In the initial stages I was greatly assisted by three of my first students, Miss Georgia Lamon, Miss Edith Pratt, and Mr. Joseph Kelleher.

With the exception of examples in Berkeley, California,¹⁰ I have seen most of the servant figures in American collections. Study of foreign statues has been limited to photographs or published illustrations. Since color is secondary to form in sculpture, my inability to view or handle foreign material has not been too serious a handicap.¹¹

For one year this study was carried on in Colorado Springs, Colorado, using published sources available in my own scientific library and through the facilities of the Inter-library loan. During the second and third years, work was transferred to the Institute for Advanced Study, in Princeton, New Jersey, first on a grant-in-aid from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and in the next year on a grant from the Institute for Advanced Study itself. Through the cordial relations existing between the Institute for Advanced Study and Princeton University, free access was granted to the excellent Egyptological library known as the Paton collection. Through the kindness of Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Director of the Institute for Advanced Study, I was most fortunate in being lent the part-time services of a secretary to type various preliminary drafts of the manuscript. During the fourth and succeeding years the work continued at the University of California in Los Angeles.

I wish to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Edith Williams Ware, who prepared the manuscript in final form for publication. To Dr. William C. Hayes, of the Metropolitan Museum, thanks are due for valuable archaeological criticism and suggestions. I am especially indebted to Dr. Walter Federn at the Brooklyn Museum for checking all the references and the bibliography.

¹⁰These are packed away in storage.

¹¹... "we must not forget that, in the case of sculpture, photographs can say more about the objects than they can say about paintings, especially paintings in which colour plays an essential or dominant part." R. H. Wilenski, *The Meaning of Modern Sculpture*, p. 107.

CHAPTER I

PRODUCTION AND STORAGE OF FOOD

THE early men who learned to plant wild grasses and grow grain apparently realized soon the importance of storing the grain for later use. Indeed, the Egyptian storage pits of the Fayum contained the earliest evidences of Egyptian agriculture so far discovered. Thus as planting and saving came first in the Nile Valley civilization, so production and storage were important in the plans of the Egyptian for reproducing his earthly way of life in the hereafter.

I. AGRICULTURAL SCENES.

*Type 1. A man hoeing.*¹ All examples are of wood. No feet indicated because the figure is walking in post-inundation mud.²

1. Cairo Museum, 249.³ Sixth dynasty. A rather tall man, wearing only a short white skirt, is striding ahead with most of his weight on his left foot, which is forward. With both hands he holds the hoe, so that the tip of the latter points almost directly downward. He stands on a rectangular base. The legs are unusually far apart, and the body is much too thin for its height. Twisted cord extends from the handle to the blade of the hoe.
2. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 26.2.10 (Pl. 1).⁴ Sixth dynasty. Enough traces of the original paint remain to indicate that the body was once red, and the wig and base were black. The man's legs are much closer together than in the case of No. 1 above. He appears to wear a wig which covers his right ear. Much of the left half of the head is lacking. The arms are attached by wooden dowel pins.
3. London, British Museum, 45195.⁵ Middle Kingdom, probably Twelfth dynasty. Man, wearing black wig and short white skirt, holds hoe in both hands, which are stretched out in front of him. He does not bend forward in the posture of actual hoeing.

¹Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, p. 70, fig. 47.

²Cf. Maspero in Grébaut, *Musée Egyptien* I, p. 39, pl. XLIII; Maspero, *Bull. de l'Institut Egyptien*, 1903, p. 370; Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, p. 161.

³Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 53, text, p. 161. Height: 29 cm. From the tomb of Ni'ankh-Pepy-Kem at Meir.

⁴Height: 25 cm. From the serdab in tomb of Theteti at Sakkara.

⁵Height: 33 cm. Provenance unobtainable.

Type 2. Man or men plowing. The ancient and modern methods of plowing in Egypt are almost identical.⁶ All examples are from Twelfth dynasty.

1. Toronto, Royal Museum of Archaeology. Plowman and two oxen.⁷ The plowman is clothed in a piece of linen.
2. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 21.408 (Pl. 2a).⁸ This model has two plowmen. One man has both arms on the plow handle. The other, ahead and slightly to the left of him, may be engaged in driving the two oxen. His left arm is bent as though to carry something on the left shoulder. Both men wear unusually long white skirts. No feet are indicated for the men. The surface of the ground is suggested by dark brown splashed with white.
3. Limoges, Musée Municipal del' Evêché (Pl. 2b).⁹ Pair of oxen with two men. One leans forward with both hands on the plow. The other holds a long stick in his right hand as though to beat the oxen; his left hand is raised high above his head, a pose which seems to be without parallel in wall scenes. Cattle apparently not spotted. Both men wear cloth skirts.
4. Limoges, Musée Municipal de l'Evêché.¹⁰ In the main this model resembles No. 3 above.
5. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 36.5.¹¹ Plow has single handle. Single figure wears short cloth skirt; white skirt also, painted on. Figure's left hand on plow handle; right hand holds stick. Feet immersed in soft soil. Body bends forward slightly. Oxen: black and white, spotted.
6. London, British Museum, 51090 (Pl. 3b).¹² Excellently preserved example: two oxen, with long horns, drawing plow with two handles held in the hands of the single figure. Man wears short cloth skirt and wig. His feet and those of the oxen are indicated. Even the binding, holding together the shaft and the plowshare, is preserved.
7. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum, 1692 (Pl. 3a).¹³ Single nude figure stands rigidly erect with legs together and both hands on plow handle. Oxen rendered in same geometric fashion, with straight cylindrical legs and short horns.

⁶Cf. W. S. Blackman, *Fellāhīn*, fig. 97, p. 170 and p. 306; H. A. Winkler, *Ägyptische Volkskunde*, pl. 32-44, pp. 146 ff.; 426-427; Klebs, *RMR*, p. 70, I.

⁷Purchased from Casira, Cairo. Said to be from Meir. Dimensions of base: length: 48.5 cm.; width in front: 19.8 cm.; width in back: 19.5 cm.; thickness: 4 cm.

⁸Exped. No. 15-5-572. From El Bersheh, Pit 10A, tomb of Dehuti-nekht. Length: 54 cm. Cf. Dunham, *MFA Bull.*, Aug. 1921, p. 46.

⁹From Meir, excavations of M. and Madame Périchon-Bey. Base: 29.5 cm. x 15 cm.; oxen: 19 cm. x 14 cm.; height of men: 18 cm. Collection Périchon-Bey; Delpech-Laborie, *Guide-Catalogue Sommaire*, p. 52, pl. X.

¹⁰Same provenance and published in same catalogue as No. 3 above. Base: 39 cm. x 12 cm.; oxen: 18 cm. x 14.5 cm.; height of men: 24 cm.

¹¹Provenance unknown. Length: 49.5 cm.; width: 19 cm.

¹²Provenance not stated. Cf. Ranke, *Art of Ancient Egypt*, pl. 80.

¹³Length: 44 cm. Roeder, *Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums*, p. 73.

8. Other examples:

- A. From Meir — Kamal, *Annales*, XI, pp. 14, 16, 23, 39.
- B. From El Bersheh — Kamal, *Annales*, II, p. 39.
- C. Cairo Museum, Guide 3212 — Wreszinski, *Atlas*, pl. 51b.

II. CATTLE-BREEDING SCENES.

Type 1. Birth of a calf. Only one example in the round is known, but the theme of a birth of an animal is present in wall scenes.¹⁴

- 1. Toronto, Royal Museum of Archaeology (Pl. 4a).¹⁵ Twelfth dynasty. One man stands directly in front of the cow. The cow's hind legs are thrown slightly forward. The calf's head, shoulders and forelegs have already emerged, with assistance of a second man, who is drawing on the forelegs as he stands well to the rear of the cow. Both men wear linen aprons and short white skirts. Colors: base, clothing and whites of eyes, white; wig, spots on cow, and centers of eyes, black; men's flesh, reddish-brown; cow and calf, yellowish-brown.

Type 2. Cow suckling a calf. The subject is common in wall scenes.¹⁶

- 1. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 11.150.5.¹⁷ Twelfth dynasty. Both cow and calf are tan with black spots. Calf is in typical position, standing with hindquarters opposite cow's left foreleg.

*Type 3. Cow being milked.*¹⁸

- 1. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum, 1690 (Pl. 4b).¹⁹ Middle Kingdom. The cow stands with her calf beside her, slightly ahead and to right, facing in same direction. A man wearing a white skirt stands by the cow's head with his left arm extended forward as though to hold a halter rope. Directly beneath the cow sits a woman milking with her right hand. With her other hand she holds in her lap a jar in which to catch the milk. This position for milking is very different from that of the early Mesopotamian culture.²⁰

Type 4. Seated man feeding a crouching ox. The subject is well known in wall scenes.²¹ All examples are from Twelfth dynasty.

- 1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 21.819 (Pl. 5a).²² The spotted ox has its mouth open. Directly in front sits a man wearing a short white skirt, with right arm outstretched toward animal's mouth. Ox is short-horned type.

¹⁴Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, p. 89, III.

¹⁵Dimensions of base: Length: 47.5 cm.; width in front: 15 cm.; width in back: 17.5 cm.; thickness: 3.5 cm. Height of cow: 18.5 cm.; height of man at head of cow: 18.7 cm. Purchased from Casira, Cairo. Unaccessioned. Said to come from Meir. Unpublished.

¹⁶Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, p. 89, IV.

¹⁷Dimensions of base: 38.5 cm. x 24 cm. Purchased from Casira. From Meir.

¹⁸Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, p. 90, V.

¹⁹Roeder, *Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums*, fig. 18, p. 73. Dimensions of base: 30 cm. x 23 cm.

²⁰Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, p. 90, V, with Hall-Wooley, *Ur Excavations*, Vol. I, pl. XXXI, 1, 2, & 3. In Mesopotamia the task was performed by a man seated immediately behind the cow on a milking stool.

²¹Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, p. 90, VI.

²²From El Bersheh, pit 10A. Length: 32 cm.; width: 9 cm. A similar example comes from tomb of Neheri at El Bersheh; cf. Kamal, *Annales* II, p. 40.

- 2. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1914.74.²³ Man wears long black wig and white kilt; his flesh is red. Ox is white with black patches. Man's left hand has a drill hole for holding some object.

- 3. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum, 1593 and 1595.²⁴ Ox very fat. Base not large enough to hold seated man as well. Latter may be woman as Roeder states, since headdress may be feminine; but form of body is quite masculine. The figure evidently held something, probably a bundle of fodder, in right hand.

*Type 5. Man leading an ox or bull.*²⁵

- 1. Cairo Museum.²⁶ Eleventh dynasty. Man precedes animal, apparently leading it by rope held in right hand. Man wears wig and short white skirt; his feet are bare. Animal has straight, rather long horns and white hide with black spots; its feet are contrary to nature in their position; two feet on one side should be fairly close together but as represented, the bull is "pacing". His neck is stretched out as though he moved unwillingly.
- 2. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E. 785, 1.²⁷ Twelfth dynasty. Herdsman walks with his left leg forward, but no feet are indicated since they were probably thought of as being concealed in soft earth of a field. He drives animal ahead of him, its hoofs likewise hidden in soil.

Type 6. Stable for cattle. The theme is frequent in wall scenes.²⁸

- 1. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 20.3.9. (Pl. 5b).²⁹ Eleventh dynasty. In inner room, four oxen are eating as they stand in front of manger. Two are horned, the other two hornless. One of latter is between tan and brown; next to him is a black and white animal; the third is pure black, and the last black and white. In outer room, which has entrance door, one tan-brown ox stands, and another, which is black, lies in a fashion slightly deviating from strict frontality. In front of each sits a man, who feeds each by hand. The lying animal appears to have eaten its fill. An overseer or guard watches over the door.

*Type 7. Inspection of livestock.*³⁰

- 1. Cairo Museum, 46724 (Pl. 6).³¹ Eleventh dynasty. Meketre sits in a chair on a porch covered by roof which is supported by four slim columns and back wall. On his

²³From Beni Hasan, tomb 275. Cf. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 123, p. 126, also p. 221, No. 275. Height of man: 14 cm.; breadth of man: 6 cm.; height of ox: 7 cm.; dimensions of base: 20 cm. x 8 cm.

²⁴Provenance unknown. Height of man: 9.8 cm.; length of ox: 19.5 cm. Cf. Roeder, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

²⁵Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, fig. 64, p. 61.

²⁶From tomb of Antef, No. 1, at Beni Hasan. Length: 41 cm. Cf. Garstang, *op. cit.*, fig. 48, p. 62.

²⁷From Antinoë. cl. B. 42. Dimensions of base: 23 cm. x 8 cm.; height of herdsman: 22 cm.; length of bull: 16 cm.; height of bull: 10 cm.

²⁸Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, fig. 63, p. 90, and VI, pp. 90-92.

²⁹From tomb of Meketre at Deir el Bahari. Length: 72.8 cm. Winlock, *MMA Bull.*, Dec., 1920, pt. II, fig. 11, pp. 21, 26.

³⁰Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, p. 46, IX and p. 87, III.

³¹From tomb of Meketre at Deir el Bahari. Winlock, *MMA Bull.*, Dec., 1920, pt. II, fig. 8, pp. 18, 26. Length of base: 1.73 m.; height of men: 20 cm.

left sits his son and heir; on his right four clerks are seated in a row. On and near porch stand several butlers and stewards, each with left foot forward, and facing straight forward. In the court itself, some nine men, each armed with a stick, are driving seventeen head of cattle past reviewing stand for Meketre's inspection. Most of the animals are spotted; two are white. Several have been caught in realistic movement, especially the white one in the corner farthest from Meketre on his left. Great attention is paid to detail; even the drains on porch roof are rendered to scale.

III. STORAGE OF FOOD.

Type 1. Model granaries³² with workmen storing grain.

A. Stone granaries with single workmen.

1. Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum, 2566 (Pl. 9a). Fifth dynasty. Five stone granaries and man gathering up grain.³³ In the tomb of Ti³⁴ a figure squatting beside three granaries is pushing grain into a circular container similar to half of the hieroglyphic grain-measure sign.³⁵ In chamber A 12 of the tomb of Mereruka³⁶ four men, each beside a pile of fruit and in close proximity to a row of granaries, all hold a container of the same shape as the grain-measure. Just as in the hieroglyph and in the figures in chamber A 12 in the tomb of Mereruka, the container in Leipzig 2566 has traces of a line around the middle. Relief figures similarly posed to the Leipzig man are second figure from left (top register) in chamber A 12 of Mereruka, and in the tomb of Kagemni.³⁷ In the same tomb another man uses a similar container,³⁸ while standing beside two rows of granaries. Sometimes these containers were used for holding fruit, as is stated in the inscriptions above each of the four figures in chamber A 12 in the tomb of Mereruka. A similar container is held by a stooping wooden figure of unknown date and provenance in University Museum,³⁹ Philadelphia (Pl. 7). In view of the fact that the Leipzig man is accompanied by granaries, I am convinced that he is gathering up grain. A hieroglyph representing a man in a pose closely approximating that of Leipzig 2566 appears at Sakkara.⁴⁰ Immediately next to him is the word *w^eh*,⁴¹ meaning grain of some kind. Directly below in a relief scene a man takes the same pose as in the hieroglyph. Here he is obviously gathering grain into a container.

³²Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, p. 73 ff., VIII.

³³Not so identified previously. Height: 29 cm. Dimensions of base: length 29 cm.; width: 14 cm. Discovered in 1905 in the serdab of the mastaba tomb of Zasha, D 39/40, at Giza.

³⁴Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti*, pl. 84, fourth register from bottom, extreme left-hand figure.

³⁵Gardiner, *Grammar*, U 9, p. 502.

³⁶Chicago University. *Mereruka*, II, pl. 116, top register.

³⁷Von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gemnikai*, II, 1, pl. IX, second register from top, second figure from left.

³⁸*Ibid.*, pl. VIII, upper register, second figure from left.

³⁹No. E881. Height: 13.6 cm.

⁴⁰Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abteilung II, pl. 103 a, middle of lowest register.

⁴¹Erman-Grapow, *Wörterbuch*, I, p. 289.

2. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10636 (Pl. 9b).⁴² With most of his weight on his left foot, which is slightly forward, a man wearing a short skirt leans markedly forward. His head looks down only a very little from the horizontal. Propped up against his left shin and held from falling forward by his two hands, is a circular container evidently full to the brim, since the hands appear to lie on the upper surface of whatever it holds. The man's hair is in low raised relief. The actual base on which he and the circular container stand is inlaid neatly into a second larger base; hence the two sets of measurements given for this example. In 1920, when it was first put on exhibition by the Chicago Oriental Institute, this figure was grouped with the three harpists treated on pp. 86-87, and was considered a drummer.⁴³ At first the evidence would suggest that there is nothing wrong in such a classification. For example, in Von Bissing's *Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re*, Vol. III, pl. 3, No. 118, a relief scene shows a large drum being carried on the back of one man and being beaten by a second man who marches behind. Kees draws attention to a seated man in a boating scene from Hemamfe who is depicted beating a round drum.⁴⁴ A scene painted on the wall of the Empire tomb of Zenone⁴⁵ shows a negro bearing on his back a circular drum. A drum similar to that in the scene just quoted has survived.⁴⁶ But in none of the examples quoted does the drummer take the pose of the Chicago Oriental Institute example. The base on which the man and his container rest is barely large enough, it is rectangular and well finished⁴⁷ along the edges and the bottom. Despite this, it was set into a larger base.⁴⁸ Indeed a review of the evidence would indicate that the Chicago example probably had an accessory in the form of granaries. Thus, it seems quite possible that the six Chicago granaries and their accompanying base⁴⁹ belong to No. 2 above, since they formed part of the same accession (Pl. 8a, 8b). It is of importance to note

⁴²Dimensions of statuette: Height: 24.7 cm.; width: 7.8 cm.; length: 13.5 cm. Dimensions of base: Height: 3.7 cm.; width: 10.6 cm.; length: 17.3 cm. The piece belongs to the Nikauanupe group. It was broken at six points: Right shoulder and wrist, left wrist, right leg just below the knee, left leg just above ankle, and the point of contact between the left shin and the edge of the circular container. The first five of the above named breaks have been mended. A large part of the right shoulder and arm was missing, and has been restored. (Cf. Breasted, "University of Chicago Expedition to the Near East (1919-1920)", *University Record*, vol. VII, No. 1, January, 1921, illustration of whole Nikauanupe group, facing p. 9. Height: 20.5 cm.; width: 11.5 cm.; length: 31.1 cm. This group was purchased in 1920 in Cairo from Nicholas Tano, who claimed the provenance as Giza. Fifth or Sixth dynasty. Inscribed on right-hand upper surface of base, ahead of right knee.)

⁴³W. S. Smith, *History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, pl. 27, e and p. 101. Dr. Smith now concurs with my new identification of this figure.

⁴⁴Kees, *Studien zur Aegyptischen Provinzialkunst*, pl. IV and text, p. 21.

⁴⁵Wreszinski, *Atlas*, pl. 23 a.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

⁴⁷In other cases, i.e. No. 10634, p. 28; No. 10626, p. 35, in the Nikauanupe group, the inserted small base was rather roughly worked along the edges and the bottom, with chisel marks clearly visible.

⁴⁸It is unfortunate that this figure is exhibited without the larger base into which it was intended to be inserted. This larger base has been packed away, and could not be located for me at the Oriental Institute Museum. I know it only from a photograph.

⁴⁹Oriental Institute 10643: Each granary is numbered A to F; the base is G.

that a model granary was found in the funerary (*sic!*) chamber of the tomb of Gemniemhet.⁵⁰

B. *Wooden scale models showing interior of granary and usually containing more than one figure.* These do not appear before the Sixth dynasty. However, it is interesting to note that as early as the Second or Third dynasty,⁵¹ an actual granary was built within a mastaba. A shallow trench lined with mud-plastered bricks contained thirty unbaked mud jars in a double row. The latter imitated the form of granary bins used in real life. A small passageway from the tomb chamber gave access to this food supply. After the Old Kingdom, model granaries with human figures appear in tombs. They usually consist of rectangular or square buildings with a walled court entered by a door swinging on its own pegs, which are inserted into a hole in the floor and into another doorframe above. The wall at each corner is always higher than elsewhere. In the court, figures gather up grain into circular grainmeasures which are emptied into sacks. These are carried by porters up a stairway to the granary roof to be emptied through holes into the various bins. Each bin has its own vertically sliding door for withdrawal of grain. In the earlier period such doors are usually only painted on.

1. London, British Museum, 21804 (Pl. 9c).⁵² Sixth dynasty. Rectangular granary with one human figure in the court near the bottom of the stairway to the left of the entrance doorway. The granary has seven bins, over four of which⁵³ a hieratic inscription is written in ink giving their contents, as *w^oh* ("eine Körnerfrucht", *Wtb.* I, 289), *īšd* ("eine süsse Frucht", *Wtb.* I, 136), *sw.t* ("Wheat", *Wtb.* III, 426) and *bš3* ("Art Frucht" (Millet?), *Wtb.* I, 478).⁵⁴ The single human figure present is a male, and appears to have been carrying a load of grain on the left shoulder. This is suggested by the left arm, which is bent as though to support a burden. Beside the figure, on the floor of the court, lies a container very similar to that dis-

	Height	Width	Length
A:	12.3 cm.	6.3 cm.	6.4 cm.
B:	12.5 cm.	6.4 cm.	6.7 cm.
C:	12.5 cm.	6.5 cm.	6.7 cm.
D:	12.4 cm.	6.3 cm.	6.6 cm.
E:	12.2 cm.	6.4 cm.	6.5 cm.
F:	12.7 cm.	6.6 cm.	6.6 cm.
G:	4.5 cm.	40.1 cm.	18 cm.

⁵⁰Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, Vol. I, pp. 52-53; Vol. II, pl. 30. In the court two figures are standing each over his tilted circular container, and the court is filled with ancient grain. My friend, Dr. Nabih Amin Faris, tells me that when he was a boy living in a Syrian village it was quite common to gather up grain in a similar container in the same fashion as in Nos. 1 and 2 above.

⁵¹At Sakkara, tomb 2105. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1912-1914)*. *Archaic Mastabas*, p. 7, pl. XVI, 1.

⁵²From a Sixth-dynasty tomb at Aswan; presented by Lord Grenfell, 1888, and apparently discovered by him. No dimensions are available, nor is it known precisely in which tomb it was found. Hence the inscription has been used as a check on the dating. Cf. British Museum, *A Guide to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms*, 1922, pp. 21, 22.

⁵³The other three bins are probably also inscribed, but this cannot be determined from available photographs.

⁵⁴For the reading I am indebted to Dr. Hayes who informs me that the orthography is that of the Sixth dynasty, and also the manner of the writing. I think, therefore, we must accept the dating as correct.

cussed under A above. A small amount of what is probably ancient grain lies scattered over the floor of the court of the granary.

2. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 11494 (Pl. 9d).⁵⁵ Intermediate period. The six figures are badly out of scale with the building: a seated clerk records each sack of grain as it is dumped into the bin. Two standing figures are dumping sacks of grain; another figure leans over a container. Two standing figures are opposite the clerk; one of these held a set of model tools⁵⁶ in his hand.
3. Copenhagen, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, A 515 (Pl. 10a).⁵⁷ Intermediate period. Entrance door is almost in middle of one side, leading to court which runs down the middle with a row of bins on either side. An overseer stands just inside the door, watching two workers each filling a circular measure with grain. Figure at top of stairs carries full grain sack on left shoulder, supported by both arms. Another porter stands opposite on other granary roof, while a third empties his sack. A kneeling clerk, pen in right hand and second pen inserted under wig on right side of face, holds inscribed writing board on his lap (Pl. 10b).⁵⁸
4. Copenhagen, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, A 506.⁵⁹ Intermediate period. Eight figures in all, at least three are porters carrying grain sacks on their backs and holding them with their hands by means of two ends of a rope or strap coming from around in back to the chest in front. A fourth figure is a kneeling clerk with writing board.
5. Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum, Model granary.⁶⁰ Intermediate period. Building is characterized by: outside entrance door, court, stairway to roof over bins, four holes for dumping grain into bins, and two smaller courts at side with no passageway either to each other or to the main court; walls slightly higher at corners of building. Among the eight figures is an overseer standing in court. Another one, a man, leans obliquely forward with right leg extended and left knee slightly bent; in front of him is a drum-shaped grain measure fastened to the forward knee with a peg; his hands lie on the upper surface of contents of this container which he has just filled. Another man stands in identically the same pose as the second except that the measure is not present, nor is there a dowel hole in the knee. On uppermost step of stairs leading to granary roof stands a porter carrying a grain sack on his left shoulder, steadying it with his right hand. Next to second bin-hole a man is about to empty a sack of grain. A squatting clerk holds a white writing board on his knee on which lies also a writing palette equipped with both black and red ink; left hand rests on writing palette; right hand, holding pen, writes. Beside him is a rectangular white chest for holding records.

⁵⁵From Sedment, tomb 2105. Ninth dynasty. Length: 25 cm.; width: 21.2 cm.; height: 18.7 cm. (including figures).

⁵⁶Model tools were frequently placed in tombs; Cf. p. 00.

⁵⁷From Sakkara, tomb of Gemniemhet. Ninth dynasty. Length: 62 cm., width: 48 cm.; height: 40 cm. Cf. Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, p. 53; pl. 30, A, B. Mogensen, *La Collection Egyptienne*, pl. LXVI, text, pp. 67-68.

⁵⁸Cf. Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, p. 272.

⁵⁹From Sedment, tomb of Wazet-hotp (No. 2106). Early Ninth dynasty. Height: 22 cm. Cf. Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, text, p. 7, pl. XX, 1; Mogensen, *op. cit.*, pl. LXIII, text, p. 66.

⁶⁰From Abusir, tomb of Harshefhotp I. Ninth-Tenth dynasty. Cf. Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, fig. 94, p. 63.

6. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1921. 1661.⁶¹ Intermediate period. Model contains five figures wearing long cloth skirts, all of them about three times too large for size of granary in which they stand. An upper and a lower grinding stone for making flour are in the court.
7. Philadelphia, University Museum, E 14259 (Pl. 11a).⁶² Intermediate period. Model contains eight figures, two of which are in court, the rest on granary roof. Three of the figures on the roof stand beside beer jugs which they are sealing. As this is most unusual in a granary scene, it is possible that the jars contain grain instead; each jar has its own stand. Three other figures on roof kneel facing court, with their hands touching the cornice. Between two of these figures is a jug with a very narrow neck. An overseer, baton in hand, stands in court, watching second figure gather up grain into a lump-shaped grain measure. The usual small stairway leads to granary roof. A doorway with a door which swings in on a pivot is in corner of court opposite stairway. On the granary wall facing the court four bin doors are painted in red outline.
8. Copenhagen, National Museum, 7549. Intermediate period. Single male figure stands on balcony. From Sedment.
9. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 20.3.11 (Pl. 11b).⁶³ Eleventh dynasty. Outside entrance door, which swings on pivots, leads to accounting room containing nine figures: seated doorkeeper; four clerks, of whom two use wooden tablets and the others papyrus rolls; an overseer; seated man in corner, whose occupation is not clear; and two men measuring grain in the usual drum-shaped containers. Six porters are at work in the grain room; five stand on top of a wall emptying their sacks into two of the three bins; a sixth, with full grain sack on his shoulder, is about to climb stairway to join other figures.
10. Paris, Louvre, E 11938 (Pl. 12a).⁶⁴ Eleventh dynasty. Usual model, with five figures.
11. Berlin Museum, 13758 (Pl. 12b).⁶⁵ Twelfth dynasty. Original position of figurines is not certain, present location being mainly determined by holes in, or marks on, the floor. The figures have unnaturally long arms; otherwise they could not reach their tasks. Heads appear to have been made by sawing off sections of a round piece of doweling; hence they resemble drums, and do not have chins, noses or mouths. Other activities depicted in court include grinding grain, brewing beer, and cooking. Two men carry grain sacks up the stairs. A third porter, squatting on roof, empties the contents of his sack through a hole into the bin below. Nearby on low block sits a clerk keeping count of the number of measures of grain which go into each bin.

⁶¹From Sedment, tomb of Mertetes. Ninth dynasty. Base: 22.7 cm. x 21.7 cm. Average height of figures: 17 cm. Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, p. 12, pl. XXXIX, No. 2112. Exceedingly crude.

⁶²From Sedment, tomb 2111 (of Khent-kheti). Tenth dynasty. Found in sarcophagus chamber. Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, pl. XX, 5, p. 7. Excellently preserved.

⁶³From tomb of Meketre. Late Eleventh dynasty. Length: 76.4 cm. Winlock, *MMA Bull.*, Dec., 1920, pt. II, fig. 15, pp. 23, 26.

⁶⁴From Asyût, tomb of Nakhti, pit I. Length: 43 cm.; width: 40 cm.; height: 32 cm. Chassinat, *Fouilles dans la Nécropole d'Assiout*, p. 50.

⁶⁵From tomb of Henuy, Nag'el-Gharîra, Gebelein. Length: 54 cm.; width: 42 cm.; height: 26 cm. Steindorff, *Grabfunde*, II, pp. 24, 25; Berlin, *Ausf. Verz.*, fig. 21, pp. 101-102; *Aeg. u. Vorderas. Altert.*, pl. 101.

12. Limoges, Musée Municipal de l'Evêché.⁶⁶ Twelfth dynasty. Seven figures. Of interest is the seated clerk on the roof writing on a circular table supported on a cylindrical stand.
13. Aberdeen, Anthropological Museum, 140 (Pl. 13a).⁶⁷ Twelfth dynasty. Four unroofed bins. Six figures: three standing, three seated.
14. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum, 1689 (Pl. 13b).⁶⁸ Middle Kingdom. Entrance door and its pivots carefully constructed, swings out instead of in. Ten male figures: one fills grain measure, four carry full grain sacks on backs, two empty grain sacks into open bin, one carries rectangular board under left arm, kneeling clerk keeps record, assisted by second kneeling figure.
15. Paris, Louvre, N 1622 (Pl. 13c).⁶⁹ Middle Kingdom. Granary without servants. Model illustrates clearly the principle of sliding bin doors.
16. London, British Museum, 2463 (Pl. 13d).⁷⁰ Middle Kingdom. This model is unique. On the roof in a rectangular shelter open on one side sits a man on a chair with a back. While his arms are bent, they extend forward with the back of each hand vertical, and the fingers closed as though to hold something. He wears a necklace and a white skirt. A woman stands in the court below, rolling dough in a kneading trough. A stairway leads to the roof from the court. An outside door to the court swings in on its own pegs, one in the floor, the other in the doorframe above. Each of the three grain bins has a door at the side for drawing out the grain when needed. Each door has a knob in the form of a peg, and slides vertically in two grooves made for the purpose, one at each side.
17. Copenhagen, National Museum, 5493 (Pl. 14b). Middle Kingdom. Granary with three open bins, and seven figures. One man in the court appears to be kneading dough in a large jar. The rest of the figures are conventional. Provenance not stated.
18. Other examples:
 - a. Intermediate period: Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, pl. XVII, 7; Berlin, *Ausf. Verzeichnis* (1899), p. 76; Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1906-07), pp. 9-10; Quibell-Hayter, *Teti Pyramid, North Side*, pp. 14, 41 and pl. XXV, 1; Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 120, p. 124.
 - b. Eleventh-Twelfth dynasty: Naville, *XIth dynasty Temple*, I, pl. IX, 5, p. 44; Garstang, *op. cit.*, figs. 41, 44, 56, 60, 76, 90, 121; Berlin, *Ausf. Verzeichnis* (1899), p. 105; Daressy, *Annales*, I, pp. 38-39; Kamal, *Annales*, XI, pp. 23, 34, 35; *Annales*, XII, pp. 100, 102, 103; *Annales*, XIV, pp. 58, 60; Van de Walle, *Bull. des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 1935, pp. 106-111. See also N. Y. Metropolitan Museum, 32.1. 125, described p. 38.

⁶⁶From Meir, Excavations of M. and Madame Périchon-Bey. Delpech-Laborie, *Guide-Catalogue Sommaire*, pl. XIV, p. 53.

⁶⁷From Beni Hasan. Purchased. Reid, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Anthropological Museum*, p. 92, No. 140; fig. on p. 93.

⁶⁸Provenance not stated. Length: 44 cm. Roeder, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

⁶⁹From Clot Bey Collection. Length: 44 cm.; width: 30 cm.; height: 23 cm.

⁷⁰Provenance not stated. British Museum, *Guide to 4th, 5th and 6th Egyptian Rooms*, pp. 21-23.

*Type 2. Single figures with sealed jars.*⁷¹ Apparently food and beverage was sealed in the jars for preservation.

1. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10630 (Pl. 14a).⁷² Fifth dynasty. Limestone. Wearing a short skirt, the man has both knees drawn up close together against his chest; the elbows are therefore outside each knee, to the right and left. The jar appears to be already sealed. The right hand grasps the jar near the top, while the left steadies it lower down. Both arms are free. The right forearm, which was missing, has been restored.
2. Harvard-Boston Expedition, G 2347a.⁷³ In this case two stone accessories represent a row of sealed jars which probably belong with a figure sealing jars.
3. Cairo Museum, 251.⁷⁴ Sixth dynasty. Wood. The man is accompanied by ten already sealed jars standing in two groups of five in a frame made of three boards; and by a red basin containing a reddish mass. The man sits with his knees close together. To the right of the right knee is an unsealed jar at an angle of forty-five degrees, into which his right hand is extended. The left arm reaches straight forward to the left of the left knee. The base, which is white, is rectangular.

*Type 3. Meat hanging on balcony.*⁷⁵

1. Copenhagen, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, A 519.⁷⁶ Intermediate period. Several joints of meat hang on a line from a balcony above a brewing scene which is going on in the court below.

⁷¹Cf. Klebs, *RAR*, fig. 73, bottom row, right-hand fig., p. 91; Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti*, pl. 83, second register from top, lower seated figure.

⁷²Cf. Capart, *Memphis*, fig. 217, p. 232. This belongs to the Nikauanupe group. Height: 26.2 cm.; width: 13.6 cm.; length: 19.3 cm.

⁷³W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, fig. 24, p. 99.

⁷⁴Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 54, text, p. 162. From the tomb of Ni'ankh-Pepy-Kem at Meir. Length: 40 cm.

⁷⁵Cf. Davies, *Antefoker*, pls. VIII, IX.

⁷⁶From Sakkara, tomb of Gemniemhet. Ninth dynasty. Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, p. 53; II, pl. 28, A, B; Mogensen, *La Collection Egyptienne*, pl. LXVI, text, p. 68.

CHAPTER II

PREPARATION AND PROCESSING OF FOOD

I. THE MAKING OF BREAD.

Type 1. Kneeling woman pouring grain onto larger grindstone prior to grinding it.

1. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10637 (Pl. 16a).¹ Pose is unusual and, so far as I know, unique. Hips touch heels, and back is almost vertical. Main grinding stone occupies entire space between her legs. Grain is contained in a small jar in the mouth of which the kernels are shown in detail. Smaller grinding stone is laid in customary fashion crosswise on the other stone, and prevents newly poured out grain from falling too far over surface of larger stone. Left hand is a little further forward than right. Supported over each shoulder and stopping short of the knees, her dress, which has a V-neck, is close-fitting, showing the form of the figure. Two-thirds of her headdress is covered with a protecting cloth. Base narrower toward the front. Colors: skin, yellow; hair and base, black; protecting cloth over hair, dress, and grain bag, white; grinding stone and grain in bag, red.

Type 2. Kneeling man or woman grinding grain.

A. Single figures. Starting in the Fifth dynasty and extending on into the Sixth dynasty, at least twenty-five limestone figures of this type are known to be extant. Kneeling grain grinders are frequently depicted in contemporary reliefs.² In modern Nubia and in the Sudan this method of grinding is still fairly common; in Egypt closer contact with Europe has caused it for the most part to vanish.³

a. Fifth dynasty, limestone.

1. Cairo Museum, 110.⁴ Technique excellent. Strictly frontal; hips rest on heels; toes braced around a slight rise in the base; soles of feet vertical; upper part of body bent forward at 45° angle. With both hands she holds the grindstone used for grinding the grain which lies on the surface of a larger grinding stone before her. Round container for catching ground meal or flour stands in front of grinding stone; small heap of meal lies on grinding stone toward rear. Base rectangular,

¹Belongs to Nikauanupe group. Height: 27 cm.; width: 13.1 cm.; length: 21.6 cm.

²Klebs, *RAR*, p. 91, fig. 73, top row, left hand, two figures. Cf. Wreszinski, *ÄZ.* 61, p. 4.

³Cf. H. A. Winkler, *Ägyptische Volkskunde*, 1936, pl. 15-17, and pp. 126, 398-399.

⁴Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 24; text, p. 86; inscription and details of discovery: Mar., *Mast.*, p. 232 ff. Height: 29 cm. From Sakkara, serdab of Mastaba D 20.

with slightly rounded corners. Her wig is covered with a cloth to prevent meal dust from permeating it; this cloth reaches down to shoulder blades in back, and is held in position by a band tied at rear of head. Only garment worn is short skirt tied at waist, leaving upper portion of body nude. Section of original block of limestone remains between arms, in front of body, and below legs; perhaps sculptor feared breakage in course of carving figure.

2. Harvard-Boston Expedition, G 2422 C, Reg. No. 36-6-52.⁵ Pose closely similar to No. 1. Lower legs not free. Although there is space between arms and body, stone between arms themselves has not been cut away. To my knowledge, this is the only known example with this characteristic. Hair largely covered by cloth. Figure has typical slimness of Egyptian peasant women. Two items lacking: receptacle for ground meal, and bag or heap of grain at upper end of larger grinding stone. Latter curves markedly upward at end nearest the woman. Base rectangular.
3. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 21.2601-G 2415 serdab (Pl. 16b). Quite similar to No. 1. Only short white skirt worn. Left hand slightly behind right; head thrown back. Feet and legs free from knees on down. Ankles very thick. Wig protected from dust on top by small cloth; figure's own hair protrudes in front slightly. Pile of meal or grain on each end of lower grinding stone. Much color remains: head cloth, white; wig, black; flesh, yellow; skirt, white; grinding stones, red; piles of meal, gray; base, black. Face typical of the Old Kingdom: thick lips, broad nose, large eyes, full cheeks. Height: 28.2 cm.; length: 45 cm.
4. Florence, Museo Archeologico (Pl. 15b).⁶ Restoration has been so extensive that it is difficult to tell what the original manner of dress was. I suspect at least a short skirt, as the pubic area is not indicated. Legs and arms cut free. Lower grinding stone unusually long, being curved upward at end nearest woman. At this end lies customary pile of grain, and at other a low heap of meal. Toes of feet large. As restored, fore part of base rounded, rear squared. Eyes and eyebrows modelled and painted. Hips not resting on heels.
5. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10622 (Pl. 15a).⁷ Nebtempet, daughter of Nikauanupe, grinding meal. Right side, upper surface, of base inscribed. Two fragments lacking from figure. Usual small heap of grain at upper end of larger grinding stone; no receptacle at further end, but slight depression cut in stone itself. Smaller grinding stone a little longer than width of larger stone. Skirt is sole garment. Right foot, turned practically upside down, rests with upper surface of toes lying directly on left heel. Close fitting skull cap on head. Arms and legs cut free. Upper tips of ears are under lower edge of skull cap. Neck too thick and head too large for body. Original shape of base mainly rectangular with slightly bulging sides. Colors: skin, yellow; base, black; grinding stones and edge of cloth protecting hair, red.

⁵W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 96, fig. 15, p. 65. Height: 25.5 cm.; length: 30 cm. From Giza. In Cairo.

⁶Cf. Alinari photo No. P. I, N. 3610 and 10712; Schiaparelli, *Antichità*, pl. 1, fig. 1, text, p. 189; Ranke, *Art of Ancient Egypt*, No. 76; Ranke, *ibid.*, caption accompanying No. 76, attributes this to Sixth dynasty, whereas W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 96, places it in the Fifth. Height: 25.5 cm.; length: 45 cm.

⁷Belongs to Nikauanupe group. Height: 20.5 cm.; width: 11.5 cm.; length: 31.1 cm. Inscribed on right upper surface of base, near right knee.

6. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10638 (Pl. 17a).⁸ Unusual because left foot rests on right heel; otherwise position of feet corresponds to that of No. 5 above. Wears a skirt beginning below breasts and stopping short of knees. Legs and arms are cut free. Full bag of grain lies at upper end of larger grinding stone. Lower end of larger stone has slightly raised edge for catching finished meal. Colors: base, hair, edges and iris of eyes, black; skin, yellow; dress, cloth over hair, and grain bag, white; grinding stones, red.
7. Harvard-Boston Expedition, G 2088, Reg. No. 38-4-4.⁹ Manner of dress not clear. Elaborate collar and necklace painted onto surface. Face and neck appear fat. Bobbed headdress protected by usual cloth on top.
8. Berlin Museum, 7706 (Pl. 17b).¹⁰ Arms are cut free, legs, though heavily undercut, are not free. Meal receptacle and grain sack lacking. Short skirt worn. Hips not touching heels. Hair entirely protected by cloth leaving ears exposed. Face has receding chin. Lower grinding stone almost level.
9. Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum, 2567 (Pl. 18b).¹¹ Legs are not entirely cut free. Body, and arms especially, are stocky almost to point of distortion. Hair largely covered with cloth or skull cap. Bag of grain lies at nearer end of lower grinding stone. There is no receptacle for finished meal. Only a short skirt worn.
10. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum, 19 (Pl. 18a).¹² Because of its affected pose, this figure differs from all other examples of the type. She kneels much too far away from the lower grinding stone, a pose making effective work difficult, if not practically impossible. Head is thrown so far back that direction of gaze is considerably above horizontal. Careful examination of her hands discloses that she pushes rather than grasps smaller grinding stone. Arms extend far forward to reach smaller grinding stone. Wears only short white skirt. Hair covered by cloth tied in back; knot carefully rendered. Meal receptacle and grain sack lacking.
11. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum, 20 (Pl. 20a).¹³ Lower grinding stone is at fairly steep angle, with result that ground meal falls into trough in which a model stucco container lies. In the manner of men, hair is short and black. The single garment begins on level with breasts and stops in middle of thighs. Position of left foot is closer than normal to edge of base; in fact, it hangs over a trifle. Lest there be any doubt as to the sex of this individual, the view from the rear reveals broad feminine hips.

⁸Belongs to Nikauanupe group. Height: 27 cm.; width: 11.5 cm.; length: 38.7 cm.

⁹Fragmentary. From Giza. Present height: 25.5 cm.; length: 20.6 cm.

¹⁰From private tomb. Acquired in 1877 through Travers. Height: 41 cm. Cf. Berlin, *Ausf. Verzeichnis*, (1899), fig. 12 and text, p. 70; *Aeg. u. Vorderas. Altertümer*, pl. 5.

¹¹From serdab of Mastaba D 29 in western necropolis at Giza. According to information received from the late Professor Walther Wolf, this serdab was found undisturbed and was covered with a large slab of limestone. Cf. Porter-Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, III, plan on p. 13. Professor Wolf felt that until the Mastaba in question was published, our No. 9 would have to be attributed to either the Fifth or Sixth dynasty.

¹²Cf. Roeder, *Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums*, p. 54. Height: 29 cm.; length: 38 cm. Professor Wolf suggested that our No. 10 might not have come from the tomb of Zasha. But Roeder derives it from the serdab of Zasha.

¹³Roeder, *op. cit.*, p. 54, fig. 11, p. 55.

12. Other examples:

Cairo Museum, 114, 115, Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 25, pp. 88-89; Harvard-Boston Expedition, G 4522, Reg. No. 14-3-62, fragmentary, unpublished; Giza, Mastaba of Ptahshepses, Junker, *Giza VII*, p. 110, pl. 20b. Rome, Museo Barracco: Alinari Photo, No. 34847; Bruckmann-Barracco, *La Collection Barracco*, pl. IV, text, p. 12. University of California, Museum of Anthropology G 16 and L 425, Lutz, *Egyptian Statues and Statuettes* pl. 41b and pl. 42, pp. 28-31; Giza, serdab of mastaba of Sed-hetep, Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, III (1931-1932), pl. XXXIV, XXXV, and pl. XXXVI, text (for both figures), p. 111; Giza, serdab of mastaba of Sekhent-ka-Hor, Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, IV (1932-1933), pl. LV, B, C, p. 199 (fragmentary); Giza, serdab of mastaba of Ankh-tef, Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, V (1933-1934), pl. XXV, p. 233.

b. Sixth dynasty, limestone.

1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Pl. 19a).¹⁴ Customary small bag of grain is directly in front of knees. Sole garment is short skirt supported by belt. Hair protected from meal dust by a cloth. Arms and legs cut free. Body is long in proportion to the size of the head. The position of the head is almost directly over the lower end of the grinding stone. The neck is somewhat thick. Most remarkable is the profile, with a high nasal ridge between the eyes which splits and joins the raised eyebrow ridge over each eye. The chin is raised in such a way as to make the line of the neck almost horizontal. The profile is so unusual as to raise the question whether the face is a portrait. Very little remains of the figure's original coloring.
2. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 11.305 (Pl. 20b).¹⁵ Lower part from hips down is missing, as are also the arms. Head raised. Overly large eyes. Broad nose. Much color remains.
3. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 12.1486 (Pl. 19b).¹⁶ One is struck by the glum, resigned expression on the rather unintelligent features. Wears short skirt. Legs not entirely free. Hair protected by skull cap. Gaze is down, but not directed at work in hand. Lower grinding stone at a sloping angle; at farther end, crescent groove cut into base, into which falls the finished meal. Bag of grain lies at upper end of larger grinding stone.
4. Paris, Musée Guimet, Eg. 2689 (Pl. 21b).¹⁷ Unfortunately, the surface of this figure has been rather badly eroded. But enough details remain to permit a general description. The torso is almost vertical. Stretched far forward at a 45° angle, the hands grasp the upper grinding stone. The stone between the arms and legs has not been cut away. Perched on rather thick neck, the head looks straight forward horizontally.

¹⁴Cf. Wijngaarden, *Meesterwerken der Egyptische Kunst te Leiden*, pl. 18; text, p. 96-97. Height: 21.5 cm.; width: 8 cm.; length: 28 cm. From collection of F. W. von Bissing. Formerly in Collection A. Sambon. Cf. v. Bissing; *Bulletin . . . s'Gravenhage*, VI, 2, pp. 10-13. From Ballard's excavations at Giza.

¹⁵Purchased in Cairo. Provenance unknown. Unpublished. Present length: 19.5 cm.

¹⁶From Giza, G 2347A. Unpublished. Height: 19.5 cm.; width: 8.2 cm.; length: 30.9 cm.; height of base: 3.3 cm.

¹⁷Height: 11 cm. Provenance unknown. Unpublished.

c. Fifth dynasty, wood.

1. Athens Museum.¹⁸ Hips rest on ankles. Back leans forward at 45° angle. Arms reach down and forward to grasp upper grinding stone. Upper surface of lower grinding stone curves upward at end nearest figure. Face looks down. No trace of original color. But form is clearly that of a woman.

d. Sixth dynasty, wood.

1. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.¹⁹ Figure sits on heels with knees on ground. Right foot protrudes on right side. Figure leans forward. Arms free; hands reach toward slanting board in front of knees (slant is toward figure). Right hand grasps small grinding stone. Head quite flat on top.

e. Middle Kingdom, wood.

1. Cairo Museum, 492.²⁰ Female figure kneels on rectangular base, and leans far forward. Hands (now lacking) barely reach to upper grinding stone (also lacking). Lower grinding stone has raised rim. Glance is directly at task.
2. Cairo Museum, 494.²¹ Kneeling female figure on rectangular base. Does not lean as far forward as No. 1. Both hands grasp upper grinding stone, which is rounded on top. Lower grinding stone slopes away from figure. No wig is worn.
3. Cairo Museum, 500.²² Group: one standing male figure, and one man kneeling, grinding grain. Both wear black wigs and white skirts. The grinding figure leans over the grinding stone, which slopes slightly away.
4. Cairo Museum, 504.²³ Kneels on rectangular base, heels touch hips. Most extraordinary is the block on which the toes rest; this raises heels and thereby gives support to hips without figure's having to sit back too far for efficient operation of upper grinding stone. Latter is grasped by both hands, and figure apparently looks at it. Lower grinding stone is unusually thick, and has small pile of grain at end nearest the figure. Headdress covers the ears. Body, yellow; eyes and wig, black.

B. Grain-grinding figures in pairs.

a. Sixth dynasty, wood.

1. Cairo Museum, 237.²⁴ Group of two women. Each kneels facing the other and for once actually looks at her work. Knees and toes touch ground. Hips rest on heels. Hands, which are stretched forward, grasp smaller grinding stones. Lower grinding stones slope downward from each figure. Between the two larger stones is a small raised egg-shaped dyke, into which finished meal falls. Small pile of grain lies at upper end of each larger stone. Short hair and short white skirts. Meal likewise white. Hair, brows, pupils, nipples, black. Each figure is attached to the rectangular base with wooden pegs.

¹⁸Cf. Capart, *Recueil de Monuments*, II, pl. LIII. Height: 50 cm.; length: 90 cm. Provenance unknown.

¹⁹From Sedment, Tomb of Nebemsuhet (No. 604). Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, pl. XVIII, 3, left, text, p. 4.

²⁰From Upper Egypt. Length: 39 cm. Borchardt, *Statuen*, II, pl. 83, text, p. 68.

²¹Provenance unknown. Length: 46 cm. *Ibid.*, pl. 83, text, pp. 68-69.

²²Provenance unknown. Height: 36 cm. *Ibid.*, pl. 85, text, pp. 71-72.

²³De Morgan, *Dahchour*, II, p. 18, fig. 44; Borchardt, *Statuen*, II pl. 86, text, p. 73. Height: 16 cm.; length: 28 cm.

²⁴Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 49, text, p. 155. From tomb of Ni'ankh-Pepy-Kem at Meir.

2. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum, 2521 (Pl. 21a).²⁵ Instead of facing each other, the two women kneel side by side. Each has before her an actual limestone-model lower grinding stone with the small stone cut in relief on its upper surface.

*Type 3. Ushebti figures of men and women grinding grain.*²⁶ Ordinary ushebtis were magical statuettes intended to do manual agricultural labor in the Nether World. They absorbed servant models,²⁷ beginning in the latter half of the Twelfth dynasty. That is, as soon as servant figures and models vanish, ushebtis inscribed with the name of the deceased begin to appear. Later on, they also bear Chapter VI of the Book of the Dead. The general purport of the text reads: "O statuettes, if N is called upon to perform the works which are carried on in the world of the dead (the tasks are named), you will say: 'Here I am!'"²⁸ But in the Middle Kingdom they bear no model tools symbolic of the task to be performed. At this time they were usually made of stone.²⁹ In the beginning the ushebti is a mummiform representation of the deceased; but sometimes every-day dress is worn. In the New Kingdom wood and baked clay painted or glazed were also used. A few bronze examples are known. Model tools then become common: hoes, picks, bags, mud-brick moulds, yokes, buckets, flails, staffs, and sceptres. Each figure usually holds one tool in each hand. In the case of the common mummiform type of figure only the face and the hands protrude from the shroud. The ushebti already had combined and confused three different kinds of figures:

1. The mummiform or every-day-attire statue of the deceased.
2. Servant figures in every-day attire.
3. Funerary figure either in mummiform costume or one taken from real life.

This confusion resulted in transitional types. University College, London, has ten figurines³⁰ made from a mould in baked clay, painted. Each represents a woman holding her hands against each other on her bare chest. The name of the deceased is inscribed in color on the yellow base. Each carries either a bag on her back, or a hoe in each hand. They are evidently confused with servant figures.

A much more interesting transitional type includes single figures of men and women grinding grain, and sometimes inscribed with the magic formula from Chap. VI of the Book of the Dead. Relatively few of these are known; unfortunately the provenance of each cannot be determined. Their chief interest for the present study lies in the fact that they are closely linked with true servant figures. They are good evidence that ushebtis not only freed the deceased from agricultural work in the fields, but from other menial

²⁵Roeder, *op. cit.*, p. 56. From early Sixth dynasty tomb of Vizier Idu I, at Giza. Present length: 45 cm. Badly preserved; both figures thoroughly eaten by white ants, who evidently left a secretion between former outer surface of the figures and surrounding matrix of sand. This secretion, which became formic acid, cemented together a thin layer of sand containing a few traces of the original wood of which the figures were made. Thus, although the figures no longer exist, we know in a general way how they appeared. See also p. 106.

²⁶Cf. Capart, *Chronique d'Égypte*, Jan. 1943, pp. 30-34.

²⁷Cf. Gardiner, *ÄZ*, 43 (1906), p. 59. No. 3.

²⁸Cf. Speleers, *Figurines Funéraires*, p. 79.

²⁹Cf. Speleers, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Exceptional are Queen Neferu's ushebti figures of clay or wax; cf. Winlock, *MMA Bull.*, Dec. 1924, pl. II, p. 9, fig. 12.

³⁰Cf. Speleers, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

tasks as well. These figures are a partial survival of the single-servant-statue tradition which has its origins running back into prehistoric times. All examples are of stone, except No. 8.

1. Paris, Louvre.³¹ Prostrate man, named Thutmosis, probably the father of Ptahmose of Amenhotep III's time: He is grinding grain, and wears a short headdress with the lock of youth, and a panther skin.
2. Ptahmose.³² Kneels with left knee forward, clad in panther skin, and has tress of hair hanging over right shoulder. He is engaged in grinding grain. Both hands grasp the upper grinding stone. One side of the base is inscribed with the sixth chapter of the Book of the Dead.
3. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, D 47.³³ Prostrate figure of the treasurer Meri-meri engaged in grinding grain by the same method as that depicted in the Old-Kingdom female statuettes.
4. Brooklyn Museum, 37.120L (Pl. 22, 24).³⁴ Standing figure of Senu grinding grain: wearing a long skirt and a typical Eighteenth-dynasty headdress, he leans forward over the grinding stone, which is placed on a raised platform sloping away toward the far side; he grasps the upper grinding stone and looks directly at it. The stone between the arms and extending back to the body has not been cut free. The entire base and the sloping platform on which the grinding stone rests are covered with an inscription taken from the sixth chapter of the Book of the Dead. This definitely establishes the piece as a ushebti. The refinement in the treatment of the face is extraordinary and has few equals in the history of servant figures.
5. Copenhagen, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, A 15. Kneeling figure³⁵ with truncated beard, engaged in grinding grain; he wears a leopard skin on his back and an undergarment of linen having minute folds; his headdress is made up of little curls, and includes a lock of hair hanging from the right side of the head. The person depicted was evidently a priest.
6. Cairo, 763.³⁶ Amenhotep-Huy, in the capacity of a servant grinding grain. The gaze is directly forward. Knees and toes are on the ground, the right leg being bent so that the hip rests on the heel. Both arms are extended forward to grasp the upper

³¹Provenance not stated. Inscribed. *Cat. de la Salle Historique*, p. 11, No. 10. Length: 10 cm.; height: 4.5 cm. Serpentine.

³²Provenance and present location unknown. Lived under Amenhotep III. Cf. Gardiner, "A Statuette of the High Priest of Memphis, Ptahmose," in *ÄZ*, 43, 1906, pp. 55-59.

³³Provenance unknown. Length of base: 18.7 cm.; height of figure: 8.9 cm. Eighteenth dynasty. Edge of base inscribed. Cf. Capart, *Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens*, II, pl. LXXIX, middle figure. Two other like figures of Meri-meri (D 48-49) are owned by the Rijksmuseum. Boeser, *Beschreibung*, IV, pl. XX, text, p. 6.

³⁴From Thebes. Height: 18 cm.; length of base: 19.2 cm.; width of base: 8 cm. *JEA*, vol. V, 1918, p. 299; Ransom, *Quarterly Bulletin of the New York Historical Society*, vol. I, 1917-1918, pp. 35, 97; Capart, *Chronique d'Égypte*, Jan. 1943, pp. 32-33, fig. 15-16.

³⁵Mogensen, *La Collection Égyptienne*, pl. VIII, text, p. 8. Formerly in Amherst Collection. Cf. Joseph Bonomi, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Museum of Hartwell House*, London, W. M. Watts, 1858, No. 410, pp. 50-51; Howard Carter, *Catalogue of the Amherst Collection of Egyptian and Oriental Antiquities*, London, Sotheby, 1921, pl. VII, No. 256, p. 27. Length: 19 cm.; height: 10 cm. Limestone.

³⁶Limestone. Length: 17.5 cm. From the Huber Collection. Borchardt, *Statuen*, III, pl. 141; pp. 78-79.

grinding stone. The large wig falls on either side on the chest. A short skirt is worn. A stylized beard is present. There are traces of blue on the headdress. The edge and upper surface of the base are inscribed. Arms and legs are not cut free, nor are the nails of the fingers and toes indicated.

7. Marseille, Musée Egyptien.³⁷ The Royal Wife, Tent-Hapi, stands leaning forward, grinding grain. With both hands she grasps the upper grinding stone. The lower grinding stone is on a raised platform, and slopes away from the figure. At the lower end of the lower grinding stone the meal or flour falls down into a trough at the foot of the base. Inscription from Chapter VI of the Book of the Dead.
8. Brooklyn Museum, 37.125L (Pl. 23).³⁸ Bronze. Kneeling figure of a king's scribe, Si-Ese, grinding grain: both hands grasp the upper grinding stone. This example was made in seven pieces: the figure is hollow cast with a tang under the knees; the plinth is cast solid; the tang on the figure passes through the plinth and is secured by a rivet on the under side. The lower grinding stone is cast solid, with a tang on one end. The upper grinding stone is also cast solid, having a tang on its under side long enough to pass through both the lower grinding stone and the plinth. In front of the lower grinding stone a ring of bronze masks the trough into which the finished flour fell. The figure's arms were cast separately and were put on square bosses. Inscriptions on grinding stones.

Type 4. Woman squatting beside grinding stone.

1. Paris, Louvre, E 7704 bis (Pl. 25d).³⁹ Sixth dynasty. Limestone. She crouches not far from a grinding stone with a lozenge-shaped object on it. No doubt exists as to the sex of this individual. But there is some question as to the proper identification of the object lying on the larger grinding stone; it is either an unusually flat grinding stone or an unbaked loaf of bread. I believe it is the former, because dough is not known to have been formed into bread on grinding stones of this shape. The old woman appears to be resting while sitting on her heels in the proverbial Oriental attitude of wakeful relaxation. Instead of being depicted grinding grain into meal, she is shown ready to do so when commanded. Here the artist seems to represent, not the action itself of producing meal, but rather the state of preparedness. Even if the doubtful object should be a loaf of bread, she would still be in an attitude of rest, ready to go on making other loaves when commanded to do so. Her face is carved with much characterization, i.e., wrinkles around the mouth, protruding

³⁷Maspero, *Catalogue du Musée Egyptien de Marseille*, 1889, p. 75, No. 166; Speleers, *Figurines Funéraires*, pl. 38, right, text, pp. 70-71. Maspero dates it in the Twelfth dynasty. But in style it resembles the examples which are definitely assigned to the New Kingdom. In 1889, when Maspero wrote, figures of this type from the Eighteenth dynasty were not known. It was but natural that he should place the only such figure known near the Middle-Kingdom servant models in time. Cf. Capart, *Chronique d'Egypte*, Jan. 1941, pp. 39-42, fig. 40, right-hand figure. According to Capart, the inscription was added by a modern forger.

³⁸From Sakkara, according to Joseph Bonomi, *Catalogue of the Abbott Collection*, 1846, p. 24, No. 227. Cf. *Quarterly Bulletin of the New York Historical Society*, vol. I (1917-1918), p. 97; Capart, *Chronique d'Egypte*, Jan. 1943, pp. 32-34, fig. 17.

³⁹Boreux, *Guide*, vol. II, p. 468. Height: 17 cm.; length: 24 cm. Supposedly from a tomb at Sakkara. Purchased in 1883.

cheek bones, and rather deep-set eyes. Her back is bent forward in an even curve necessitated by her sitting position.⁴⁰

*Type 5. Woman sifting grain or flour.*⁴¹ In the Fourth dynasty she holds the sieve over a basket in her lap. But in the Fifth dynasty her knees are drawn up high against her chest, and the basket lies in front of her feet, while the sieve is held in front of the shins. Only stone examples of this type are known.

1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 30.1458, from Giza, G 7530 A (Pl. 25b).⁴² Fourth dynasty. The pose is definitely asymmetrical. The left leg is drawn up diagonally under the hips, so that the left toes project slightly below at the right side. The right leg is drawn up so that the heel is just to the right of the right hip. Such a pose pushes the left knee ahead of the right, raises the right hip and shoulder above the left, and thereby produces a visible curve in the spinal column. Backing runs up to support the now lost head. Although the chest is rather flat, the hips would indicate that the figure is a woman. In her lap she holds a basket-work tray, on top of which rests a wicker sieve. She holds the latter with her hands on either side. The base is rectangular; there are no traces of color. The arms are not free.
2. Cairo, Museum, 35313.⁴³ Fifth dynasty. This woman is very similar to No. 1, except that her knees are drawn up and the basket rests in front of her, thus compelling her to stretch her arms around her legs.
3. Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum, 2564 (Pl. 25c).⁴⁴ Fifth dynasty. This squatting woman has same pose as Cairo 35313. She holds a wicker sieve and appears to be sifting something through it onto a flat basket-tray below. The pile of already sifted material acts as a support for the sieve directly above it. The head is thrown back above the horizontal, and the gaze is at the same angle.
4. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10633 (Pl. 25a).⁴⁵ Fifth dynasty. The pose is similar to that of No. 2, but the arms slope downward. The basket-tray is absent. The woman holds a rectangular sieve; its long dimension runs as she faces. She leans forward. Her short hair and two-thirds of each ear are covered by a close-fitting skull-cap. Her nose is noticeably broad.
5. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10623 (Pl. 26a).⁴⁶ Fifth dynasty. The sex is not clearly shown by the form, but the yellow skin color would indicate a woman. The knees are drawn up in an absurdly unnatural manner. Seen from the side, the figure lacks thighs. A small circular basket-tray rests on the base directly in front. On it lies a circular wicker sieve, which the woman grasps with both hands, one on

⁴⁰I have not been able to find a parallel scene in the contemporary reliefs which might explain this still further.

⁴¹Cf. Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti*, pl. 84, fourth register from bottom, third figure from left; fifth register from bottom, third figure from left. In each case a woman next to a man kneading dough is sifting grain or flour. In the second example a pile of grain or flour is visible below the sieve.

⁴²Harvard-Boston Expedition G 7530 A, Reg. No. 27-5-4, Meresankh III. Height: 24 cm. Cf. W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 98, fig. 14a, p. 43.

⁴³From Sakkara, 1901.

⁴⁴Excavated in 1905 at Giza, from Mastaba D 39/40, serdab of tomb of Zasha. Height: 25 cm.; base 23 x 10 cm.

⁴⁵Statue belongs to Nikauanupe group. Height: 24 cm.; width: 12.1 cm.; length: 22.2 cm.

⁴⁶Belongs to Nikauanupe group. Height: 25.6 cm.; width 10.8 cm.; length: 16.9 cm.

either side. One of the nicest details ever represented in servant figures is the way the edge of the sieve curves upward slightly where each hand grasps it. This it would do in real life because of the weight of the flour within it. The tight-fitting skullcap resembles that of No. 4, except that more of the ears is revealed. The back is more nearly vertical than that of No. 4. Her single garment reaches from below the armpits probably to the knees. A small ledge of stone between the knees probably shows the front upper edge of the garment. Colors: skin, sieve, and basket, yellow; base, black; dress and hair cloth, white.

Type 6. Man forming cakes or loaves of dough. Either sitting on a low platform or kneeling directly on the base, a man is engaged in forming various round and rectangular objects which must be dough-cakes or loaves. His hands actually touch a cake. The pieces of dough lie on a low platform or board. Limestone figures of this type are less elaborate than wooden examples, where the man is rolling the dough.

1. From Giza, tomb of Khamernernebti, daughter of Khufu, wife of Khephren.⁴⁷ Fourth dynasty. Limestone. Seated man forming a flat round dough-cake with both his hands.
2. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10624 (Pl. 26b).⁴⁸ Fifth dynasty. Limestone. The man (Khafmin, Son of Nikauanupe) kneels in a strange fashion. The toes of one foot touch those of the other just under the lower end of the spinal column; the heels face out to the right and left. Thus the soles are in the same plane with surface of the rear end of the base. To those unaccustomed to it, such a pose would be all but impossible.⁴⁹ Except where the elbows touch the upper surface of the thighs, the arms are free. The body leans forward, but the head is held so that the gaze is horizontally ahead. The hands grasp a dough-cake which lies crosswise on a small platform or board. Two additional cakes lie at right angles to the grasped cake at the other end of the board. Only a short skirt is worn. The hair is rather short, but is shown in raised relief. The end of the nose is lost, which makes the nose seem even broader than it is. The cheeks are full, and there is a little extra flesh under the chin, as though the man had the beginnings of a double chin. Colors: skin, brown; base and hair, black; board below cakes, red; cakes and skirt, white.
3. Paris, Louvre, E 7704 (Pl. 26d).⁵⁰ Fifth dynasty. Limestone. Kneeling man forming loaves or dough-cakes in much the same way as No. 2 above. The pose is different; the hips rest on the heels, and only the toes and knees touch the ground. The body leans far forward, but the head is thrown back so that the gaze is still horizontal. Since the body does so incline, the elbows do not touch the thighs, and the arms are

⁴⁷Found in room J. Cf. Daressy, *Annales*, X, p. 48, and plan, p. 42.

⁴⁸Belongs to Nikauanupe group. Height: 19 cm.; width: 10.2 cm.; length: 18.7 cm. Man's name inscribed on right upper portion of base.

⁴⁹It has been suggested that the original shape of the block may be responsible for the position of the feet, and not the sculptor's desire to render a copy of a possible pose in nature. Such a view is, I believe, untenable for the following reasons: 1. The position is possible. 2. The rendering of the feet in an upright position would not have required much change in the total height of the statue. But it must be admitted that the pose is here somewhat exaggerated.

⁵⁰Boreux, *Guide*, II, p. 468. Length: 26.5 cm.; height: 20 cm. From a tomb at Sakkara.

entirely free. The head is much too large for the rest of the figure. Traces of paint indicate that the hair was painted on. The platform on which the dough-cakes rest is rounded in front.

4. Kansas City, Nelson Gallery, 35-17 (Pl. 27).⁵¹ Fifth dynasty. Limestone. A kneeling man sits on his feet so that the toes of one foot touch the toes of the other. Both hands reach forward and seem to be kneading dough. Traces of inscription are on the upper surface of the left side of the base. Parts of figure have been broken and replaced as follows: both arms at wrist and above elbow, head at neck, and torso at waist. Traces of black remain on top of the head and on base. The upper half of the body and the edge of the grinding stone are red. The skirt and dough on kneading platform are white. The hair is in raised relief.
5. Cairo Museum, 240.⁵² Sixth dynasty. Wood. Looking slightly to the right, the worker sits on his right foot, while the left knee is drawn up so that the shin is almost vertical. The right hand appears to be forming a dough-cake on a board which lies at left on the base in front of the figure. The left hand raised above the board is filled with dough. To the left of the board are two piles each of five rectangular dough-cakes. Several disks are arranged as though for a fire on the front left-hand corner of the base. Much color remains; hair, brows, eyelids, pupils, and base, black; skin, brown; whites of eyes, skirt, dough and cakes, white; the cakes have a brown elliptical line down the middle. The disks are gray and reddish brown. Wooden pegs hold the figure to its base.
6. Cairo Museum, 252.⁵³ Sixth dynasty. Wood. Kneeling man gazes down at his work. In front of him lies a board. His right hand holds a small instrument pointed at each end and having sharp edges. With this he seems to be scraping up dough. The left elbow is bent and the left hand holds a small ball of dough.
7. Other examples:
Cairo Museum, 109, 322-324, in Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 24 and text, pp. 85, 186-187.

Type 7. Man or woman baking bread. The baker squats beside a charcoal fire or a simple oven; in some cases the dough is placed in conical jars for baking. Usually the knees of the baker are drawn up close together; the left elbow rests in part on the left knee; the left hand protects the face from the glare of the fire; the right hand, near the right knee, grasps one end of a stick with which to control the fire.⁵⁴

1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 21.2600 (Pl. 28b).⁵⁵ Fifth dynasty. Limestone. A woman sits in a somewhat unusual position: Her right leg is bent double at the knee, with the shin touching the ground along its entire length; thus the right heel touches the right hip. The left leg is also bent at the knee, but the knee is raised and gives support to the bent left arm above the elbow. The left arm is

⁵¹Provenance unknown. Purchased from Brummer Gallery, New York City, which bought it from an English collection. Height: 24.7 cm.; length: 27.9 cm.; width: 11.1. Unpublished.


⁵²Borchardt, *Statuen*, pl. 50, text, p. 156. From the tomb of Ni'ankh-Pepy-Kem at Meir. Length: 36 cm.

⁵³*Ibid.*, pl. 54, text, p. 162. From the tomb of Ni'ankh-Pepy-Kem at Meir. Length: 30 cm.

⁵⁴Cf. Klebs, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches*, fig. 73, middle row, p. 91; Steindorff, *Grab des Ti*, pl. 84, third register from top.

⁵⁵Found by Harvard-Boston Expedition at Giza in the serdab of G 2415. W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 98, fig. 15, p. 65; Sanborn, *MFA Bulletin*, April, 1922, pp. 25-26. Height: 23.8 cm.; width: 32 cm.

raised, with the hand touching the left side of the headdress. Assumption of this pose gives a slight twist to the torso: the right shoulder is a trifle further forward than the left. The position of the left hand affords little or no protection to the face. Only a short skirt is here worn. A cloth covers the top of the headdress; the latter is probably a wig, since the real hair shows slightly on the forehead. Much color remains: edges of eyelids, wig, base, part of fire, the stone backing for the poker, and right hand, and the necklace and pendant, black; skin, yellow; poker, and rest of fire, red; cloth on wig and skirt, white. The fire seems to be covered with conical bread pots which are being heated prior to having dough placed in them for baking. The base is broken in the middle across the narrow way.

2. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10634 (Pl. 26c).⁵⁶ Fifth dynasty. Limestone. A nude man. The figure holds a poker (restored in wood) in the right hand. The left hand is held near the left foot. Thus it deviates from the normally raised left hand protecting the face from glare, and must be in an attitude of repose. Nine dough-cakes are piled around the fire apparently so that all may receive approximately the same amount of heat for even baking. The modelling of the man appears weak. The neck is too thick; neither the arms nor legs are free; muscles are not indicated. The face itself is rather coarse, and in this differs from most of Nikauanupe figures, except No. 10629.⁵⁷ The hairline over the forehead is curiously shaped in the form of a double cupid's bow, thus: , and may be compared with Nos. 10628 and 10625 in the same group.⁵⁸ The end of the fire nearest the man has a rectangular opening. The unit of the fire and the cooking cakes, and the man, are both inserted separately into the base, so that there are three pieces composing this example.⁵⁹ Colors: skin and cakes, brown; hair, base, space between feet, and irises, black.
3. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum, 2140 (Pl. 28a).⁶⁰ Fifth dynasty. Limestone. The pose is quite similar to No. 1 above. The lower part of the right leg is very crudely modelled. The base, the human figure, and the fire are all one piece of limestone. The left hand does protect a part of the left side of the face by being held a little further forward and down than in No. 1 above. The fire and that portion of the base which is directly beneath it are obviously unfinished, since the whole surface is covered with chisel marks.
4. Cairo Museum, 238.⁶¹ Sixth dynasty. Wood. In front of a woman, three disks are arranged around a fire, with a fourth supported on top of the other three. In real life such disks were made of baked clay, and are used today in modern Egypt in

⁵⁶From Nikauanupe group. Cf. Capart, *Memphis*, fig. 217. Dimensions of man: Height: 19.3 cm.; width: 9.3 cm.; length: 9.4 cm. Dimensions of oven: Height: 10 cm.; width: 7.7 cm.; length: 9.5 cm. Dimensions of base: Height: 4.1 cm.; width: 11.5 cm.; length: 23.9 cm. A badly damaged, and hence illegible inscription is on the right upper surface of base, ahead and to right of the right foot.

⁵⁷P. 44.

⁵⁸Pp. 49-50 and 36.

⁵⁹Other cases of smaller bases inlaid into larger ones include: No. 10636, p. 11, No. 10634, p. 28, and No. 10626, p. 35.

⁶⁰Roeder, *op. cit.*, p. 55. Excavated at Giza in 1912-1913. Height: 26.5 cm. Junker, *Giza VII*, p. 111, pl. 19, 20b, 22c.

⁶¹Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 50, text, p. 155. From the tomb of Ni'ankh-Pepy-Kem at Meir, Length: 30.5 cm.

outlying communities. The woman holds a poker. The hair of the figure is short, as is also the skirt. Colors are as follows: hair, brows, eyelids, and pupils, black, skin, yellow; whites of eyes, skirt, and base, white; disks and poker, red.

5. Other probable examples:

Cairo Museum, 108, 321, 325, and 247, see Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 24, text, pp. 84-85, 186-187, pl. 53 and text, p. 160; Cairo Museum, 37822 (unpublished), from tomb of Zasha, Giza; four model fires from baking figures, in Cairo Museum; two more from tomb of Der-semat, Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, III (1931-1932), pl. III, 3, and fig. 13, B. A., p. 13; baker from cemetery south of Khufu Pyramid at Giza, Junker, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die sechste Grabung bei den Pyramiden von Gizeh," in *Anzeiger*, 1928, p. 184; pots and fire from Sakkara, mastaba of Seshemnufer, see Barsanti, *Annales*, I (1900), p. 159; baker from tomb of Nenna (613) at Sedment, see Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, pl. I, 22-23, text, p. 4; four accessories to bakers' figures from Harvard-Boston Expedition G2347 and G2004, see W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 98, fig. 24, p. 99.

Type 8. Groups engaged in different stages of bread-making.⁶²

1. Harvard-Boston Expedition, G 2088, Reg. No. 28-4-2 (Pl. 29a).⁶³ Fifth dynasty. Limestone. Group of two figures. A woman squats with her knees up, and her hands grasping a sieve which she uses to sift something onto a basket-tray (?) or onto the ground before her. Her right hand is broken away; the left one is damaged. Beside her stands another woman holding a large pestle with both hands. The mortar consists of a depression at corner of base, in which the pestle rests.⁶⁴ Only the fingers of each hand are still visible at upper end of pestle. All of figure above waist is lacking. The skirt reaches to above ankles. The knees are slightly bent.
2. Sedment, tomb of Meryre-hashetef.⁶⁵ Sixth dynasty. Wood. Three men working. At left a man sits beside a small oven; he shades his face with his left hand and tends the fire with his right. In the middle a man kneels on a "brick" while he grinds grain into flour. At right a seated man seems to be forming dough-cakes.
3. Cairo Museum, 243.⁶⁶ Sixth dynasty. Wood. On a long rectangular base are two women each wearing a short white skirt. One kneels as she grinds grain into flour. The other squats beside a fire. Her right hand, which is beside her right ankle, evidently held a poker or a fan. The left hand is raised as though to protect the face from glare. Between the two figures stands a jar with a sieve and a wicker base. Next to the jar is a small cylindrical vessel. Because of the jar and sieve these women may be making loaves for the manufacture of beer.

⁶²Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, p. 119, XVI.

⁶³W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 98, fig. 18b, p. 91. Only two stone groups of servant statues (both from the Fifth dynasty) are known in the entire Old Kingdom; see p. 90 for other stone group.

⁶⁴In the reliefs of this period men are depicted in similar activity. Cf. Klebs, *Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches*, fig. 73, top row, right hand two figures, p. 91. Here there are two men, each equipped with a pestle, but both striking into same mortar. Each man seems to be nude. Relief No. 14107 in the Berlin Museum (Cf. Berlin, *Ausf. Verzeichnis*, 1899, p. 57) depicts three persons working around the same mortar, apparently engaged in pounding grain.

⁶⁵Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, pl. XI, 6, text, p. 3.

⁶⁶Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 52, text, p. 158. Length: 60 cm. From the tomb of Ni'ankh-Pepy-Kem at Meir.

4. Philadelphia, University Museum, E 14262.⁶⁷ Intermediate period. Wood. Two women kneading dough or baking bread.
5. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 785, 17.⁶⁸ Twelfth dynasty. Wood. Bakery with three figures. Woman squatting in front of fire, holding poker in hand; behind her, second woman leans over kneading-trough and forms long loaf of dough. Beside her is a large vase with narrow neck. Nearby is a male water-carrier holding two jars of water hung on two cords attached to a yoke balanced on his right shoulder; he holds stick in right hand. He wears long wig and cloth skirt. The women, who are yellow, also have white skirts; the kneeling one has in addition a cloth skirt. The water-carrier is red.
6. Other examples:
Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 785, 8, 9 and 10, Antinoë.

II. THE MANUFACTURE OF BEER.⁶⁹

Type 1. Man or woman pressing mash through sieve into a vessel. The figure is engaged in pressing out the fermented barley-bread, from which ancient Egyptian beer was made, through a sieve into a jar equipped with a spout or into a vat. A basket-work ring is placed under the jar to hold it steady. Up to within the early years of the present century this manner of brewing was known and practiced in Nubia and the Sudan.⁷¹ There is an Egyptian hieroglyph⁷² which represents a man kneading and straining the mash into a vessel.

1. Cairo Museum, Journ. d'Entr., 38908.⁷³ Predynastic. Clay. Figure with beak-like face reaches with both hands into a vat and may be pressing out mash.
2. Harvard-Boston Expedition, G7530-40, Reg. No. 27-5-6 (Pl. 29b).⁷⁴ Fourth dynasty. Limestone. Headless figure of woman bending over sieve and jar. The arms also are missing. Although she appears to be leaning against a low wall for support, the wall may be nothing more than backing to strengthen the figure against breakage at the ankles. However, one of the several breaks came at the ankles. This belongs among the oldest known servant figures from the Old Kingdom.
3. Cairo Museum, 117.⁷⁵ Fifth dynasty. Limestone. Man brewer. His hands are flat on the bottom of the sieve, and are partly submerged in the mash. His hair is his own, cut short. The white short skirt reaches to the knees. The colors are as follows: hair, brows, eyelids, pupils, base, and contents of the sieve, black; whites of eyes, white. The base is rectangular behind, with rounded corners in front.

⁶⁷Tenth dynasty. From sarcophagus chamber of tomb of Khent-kheti at Sedment. Unpublished.

⁶⁸From Antinoë, cl. B39. Base: 31 cm. x 19 cm. x 13 cm. Height of standing figures: 16 cm.; of squatting figure: 11.5 cm.

⁶⁹For an adequate description of ancient Egyptian beer-making, see articles by Borchardt in *ÄZ*, 35, pp. 129ff., and *ÄZ*, 37, p. 83.

⁷⁰Cf. Klebs, *RAR*, fig. 73, p. 91, second register, left; *RMR*, p. 120, XVII.

⁷¹Cf. Borchardt, *Works of Art from the Egyptian Museum at Cairo* (G. A. Reisner, tr.), pp. 4-5.

⁷²Gardiner, *Grammar*, A 36, p. 349.

⁷³From Henri de Morgan's excavation of 1907 at Adamije. Scharff, *Altortümer*, II, fig. 25, p. 38.

⁷⁴From Giza, tomb of Meresankh III. Cf. W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 96, fig. 14a, p. 43. Height: 25.5 cm.

⁷⁵From Sakkara. Height: 40 cm. Cf. Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 26, text, p. 90.

4. Museum of Anthropology, University of California, L 400 (Harvard-Boston Expedition, G1213).⁷⁶ Fifth dynasty. Limestone. Man brewer. The stone between the arms, the chest and the sieve, as well as the base and the edges of the hair is all painted black. On face, neck and feet, traces of reddish brown, some red on the jar.
5. Florence, Museo Archeologico.⁷⁷ Woman with hands submerged in contents of sieve placed on vessel. She wears an intricately painted necklace containing an unusual star ornament (Pl. 30b). This figure evidently has been extensively restored.⁷⁸ The breasts seem to be considerably too full. I know of no parallel to the design on the jar. The sieve and wicker base for jar do not seem to be correctly restored. I am also skeptical of the correctness of the supporting material between the arms and legs, leaving them not free, though the statue of another woman brewer, Cairo Museum 118, has neither legs nor arms free. The short hair follows common historical usage. Although it is not easy to date this piece, I believe it belongs to the Fifth dynasty because of the limestone material and the strong classic simplicity that it still retains.
6. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 20.2.1.⁷⁹ Fifth dynasty. Limestone. This figure of a man leaning over sieve and jar was restored after Cairo Museum 117, which it resembles closely. The arms, feet, sieve, jar, wicker support of jar, and base are all modern. Some of the original color remains.
7. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum, 18 (Pl. 30a).⁸⁰ This brewer differs from Cairo 117 only in the fact that his head is thrown further back and that he does not lean quite so far forward. The technique is much cruder. The ears are too large. However the figure is interesting as its broad, thick-lipped mouth, its almost equally wide nose, and its bulging eyes, are exceptional.
8. Cairo Museum, 239, woman.⁸¹ Sixth dynasty or later. Wood. The woman looks downward at an angle of about 45°, with her knees and back bent forward. The spouted jar stands directly on the base without the customary wicker support. In the sieve above the jar the woman is kneading reddish dough. A second jar is in front of the first, and is filled with the same sort of dough, on top of which is a small flat dipper or cup.

⁷⁶From Giza. Lutz, *Egyptian Statues and Statuettes*, pl. 41 a, text, pp. 27-28. Height: 23 cm.; width: 9.3 cm. W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 97, fig. 15, p. 65.

⁷⁷Provenance unknown. Ranke, *Art of Ancient Egypt*, pl. 75; Alinari photo No. 31113.

⁷⁸Von Bissing writes me in English: "It is very difficult to say anything about the coloring of the limestone figure preparing beer. My impression is that it is an able restoration relying on old traces, but the difficulty is that it is very difficult to get the figure out of its case." No living specialist in Egyptian art appears to know how much of this figure has been restored. It is included in this study only because it is so well known.

⁷⁹Cf. H. E. Winlock, *Egyptian Statues and Statuettes*, fig. 2. Purchased from Dikran Kelekian in Paris, France. Provenance unknown. Dikran bought it from Mohammed Mohassib. Height as restored: 43 cm.

⁸⁰Roeder, *op. cit.*, p. 55. Height: 36 cm. Discovered by Steindorff in 1905 in serdab of tomb of Zasha at Giza.

⁸¹Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 50, text, p. 156. Discovered in a hole in the middle of the burial chamber of Ni'ankh-Pepy-Kem at Meir.

9. Cairo Museum, 244, standing male.⁸² Sixth dynasty. Wood. The man looks at his work. His knees are scarcely bent. In the sieve is a yellowish red mass of dough. Around the rim of the sieve is a row of carefully formed pieces of dough. The hair, brows, eyelids, pupils, nipples, and base are all black; whites of eyes, and the skirt, white; skin, brown. Archaeological importance is attached to this figure because it is part of a two-figure group. Thus, as the wood tradition becomes stronger, the tendency to produce isolated single statues diminishes.
10. Beni Hasan, tomb No. 1, tomb of Antef.⁸³ Eleventh dynasty. Wood. A man is straining mash through a sieve into a vat. Two jars stand nearby.
11. Cairo Museum, 491.⁸⁴ Single standing brewer straining mash through sieve into vat. Next to vat stands a yellow sealed beer jar.
12. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1912.295.⁸⁵ Standing man, straining mash.
13. Other examples, provenance and references:
Giza, tomb of Khamerernebti, in Daressy, *Annales*, X, p. 47; Cairo Museum, 118, from Sakkara, in Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 26 and pp. 90-91; Cairo Museum from Giza, tomb of Mersu-ankh, in Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, 1929-1930, pl. LXXI and p. 115; Cairo Museum, 246 and 253, in Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 53-54 and pp. 160, 162; Naga-ed-Dêr N 89, unpublished, reference through kindness of Dr. W. S. Smith; Harvard-Boston Expedition G2347 a E in W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 92, fig. 20.

Type 2. Man or woman standing in vat and kneading mash with feet.

1. Berlin Museum, 13832 and 13833.⁸⁶ Predynastic. Clay. Woman standing in a vat (Pl. 31a), legs together, leaning back against edge of vat. Right hand grasps edge of vat a little ahead of figure. Nostrils and eyebrows well indicated. Fingers of right hand shown clearly. Large hanging breasts. Vat painted tan on exterior. An Old-Kingdom relief in the Cairo Museum depicts the same scene.⁸⁷ Likewise a Middle-Kingdom model from tomb 116 at Beni Hasan.⁸⁸ Scharff (*Altertümer*, II, p. 38) draws attention to two unpublished Middle-Kingdom wooden models of similar figures from Asyût in the Turin Museum.
2. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 90. 6. 25.⁸⁹ Eleventh dynasty. Wood. Man standing in a vat evidently kneading mash with his feet. He grasps sides of vat with his hands.

Type 3. Other single figures perhaps engaged in beer-making.

1. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10635 (Pl. 31b).⁹⁰ Fifth dynasty. Limestone. Female standing beside a cauldron-like jar. Mrs. C. R. Williams in her notes deposited at the Oriental Institute has identified this as a girl dipping from a cauldron, per-

⁸²Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 52, left-hand figure, text, p. 159. From tomb of Ni^cankh-Pepy-Kem at Meir.

⁸³Formerly in MacGregor Collection. Length: 46 cm. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 50, p. 64.

⁸⁴Provenance unknown. Height: 27 cm. Borchardt, *Statuen*, II, pl. 82, text, pp. 67-68.

⁸⁵Purchased. Size of tub: 7 cm. x 7 cm.

⁸⁶From Negade. Cf. Schäfer, *ÄZ*, 34, figs. 12 and 13, p. 161; Scharff, *Altertümer*, II, pl. 13, No. 59, text, pp. 37-38.

⁸⁷Scharff, *Altertümer*, II, fig. 24, p. 37; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, 398, upper register, fig. at extreme right.

⁸⁸Garstang, *op. cit.*, fig. 62, right, p. 75.

⁸⁹Provenance unknown. Height: 20.3 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gillet, *Egyptian Catalogue*, 1898, No. 1676.

⁹⁰This belongs to the Nikauanupe group. Height: 30.5 cm.; width: 11.7 cm.; length: 21.1 cm. Inscribed on left upper surface of base. W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, pl. 28F.

forming part of the process of beer manufacture. In his field notes the late Dr. James H. Breasted described the woman's task as mixing dough. The latter interpretation does not seem feasible in view of the fact that she dips up liquid in a small receptacle held in her right hand. The usual sieve is absent, as is also the wicker base for the jar or cauldron. In place of the wicker base there are four objects which must be mud supports or stones, for they resemble the cauldron supports in a relief at Deshasheh.⁹¹ The left hand grasps the edge of the cauldron as though the woman were steadying herself. The base, which is just large enough and no more to hold the figure and the cauldron, is crudely done, being mainly rectangular. When viewed from the side, the cauldron is seen to lean forward at an angle of several degrees. The knees, which are slightly bent, touch the bulge of the vessel, below the rim. The right shoulder is lower than the left, thereby producing a noticeable twist in the torso. The reason for this is that the left arm, which supports a considerable portion of the weight of the upper torso by grasping the rim of the vessel, forces the left shoulder up and back. The right supports no weight, and dips into the vessel, having to reach a little farther than the left arm in order to do this. The result is a lowering of the right shoulder. Although the spinal column is not bent to one side by this twisting of the torso, the figure is not strictly frontal. Colors: lips, traces of pink; skin, yellow; hair, and base, black; dress, and cloth protecting hair, white; vessel and its supports, red.

2. Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum, 2565 (Pl. 32b).⁹² Fifth dynasty. Limestone. Standing female in a pose resembling that of No. 1 above, but there are differences in dress and posture. Similarities include bent knees in each case, and the fact that each is dipping liquid from a cauldron with the right hand, which holds a small bowl or dipper. The cauldron of the Leipzig example differs in having a disk-like support on which to stand, instead of the mud supports of the Chicago piece. The right shoulder of the Leipzig figure also is considerably lower than the left. The head, however, remains in a vertical plane. The face has a broad mouth with thick lips, and a very wide nose.
3. Beni Hasan, tomb 487 (of Senbu).⁹³ Twelfth dynasty. Earthenware. Man with knees bent stands beside large jar, into which he appears to reach with both hands.
4. From Meir.⁹⁴ Middle Kingdom. Wood. One brewer with the usual equipment.

Type 4. Model brewing scenes. Beginning with the Intermediate period separate brewing scenes are depicted either in an open walled court in front of a building, or in a low-walled enclosure, with up to eight figures. All the stages in the process of beer-making are represented. The models are made of wood.

1. Sedment, tomb of Meryre-*hashetef*.⁹⁵ Sixth dynasty. Four human figures attached to the same base; each falls into one of the single-figure types of the Old Kingdom.

⁹¹Cf. W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 97, fig. 207, p. 328.

⁹²From Mastaba D 39/40, tomb of Zasha, at Giza. Height: 29 cm.; base: 22 x 10 cm.

⁹³Garstang, *op. cit.*, fig. 144, p. 146.

⁹⁴Kamal, *Annales*, XIV, p. 60.

⁹⁵Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, pl. XI, 5, text, p. 3.

Starting from left to right, the first figure is that of a female servant, holding a bird by the feet in her right hand, and steadying with her left hand a head-load which has disappeared. Next to her is a man pounding barley. His pestle is now lacking. The third figure is a woman pressing fermented mash through a sieve into a jar. Finally, at the right is a seated man probably engaged in capping or sealing jars of the beverage. A row of sealed jars is in the foreground.

2. Copenhagen, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, A 519 (Pl. 32c).⁹⁶ Intermediate period. Two figures: water carrier with pair of jars suspended from yoke walks from entrance toward standing brewer, who is straining mash through sieve into large vat. There are also two other vats full of fermenting mash, and near them in front of an inner door are four smaller jars. Near the other inner door on the brewer's right are four large, apparently sealed beer jars. One wall of the court is lower than the others to let in air and light; evidence of two columns from its upper surface to the height of the three other walls indicates that the whole building was roofed over.
3. Cairo Museum.⁹⁷ Model is divided in two by low partition wall with passage at one end. In smaller division: one man stands in tub containing something white; he is probably kneading mash with his feet. One girl squats with poker beside small oven; one man with white hands stands in corner and is perhaps making up loaves for baking. Along the end wall are two oblong white objects with lines crossing at right angles, possibly representing bread on trays. In larger division: two standing girls grind grain; beside them is a cylindrical container perhaps for holding flour; a bowl is attached to lower millstone in front to catch the finished flour. Another standing girl holds a large pestle in her extended hands; mortar is lacking. Near an oven two girls are seated, one with dish in her lap.
4. Asyût, tomb of Nakhti.⁹⁸ Eleventh dynasty. This is one of the largest models devoted entirely to brewing. In the middle, two women grind grain into flour on a double saddle stone or quern. In front of them stands a water carrier bearing two containers suspended from a yoke. In one corner a man is crushing grain with a mortar and pestle. In another corner a seated woman tends a fire on which she is cooking bread. On the opposite side a brewer is straining the bread or mash through a sieve into a vat. Near him is a man supporting a water jug on his head with both hands; he evidently is about to dump it into the vat of mash which the brewer is preparing.
5. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 04. 1782.⁹⁹ Eleventh dynasty. Activities same as in No. 3 above. The oven is a little higher, and is painted alternately black and red, the little projections being black on their ends and the spaces between them red.

⁹⁶From Sakkara, tomb of Gemniemhet. Ninth dynasty. Length: 50 cm.; width: 42 cm.; height: 40 cm. Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, p. 53; II, pl. 28, A, B; Mogensen, *La Collection Egyptienne*, pl. LXVI, text, p. 69.

⁹⁷From Sakkara, tomb of Karenen. Tenth dynasty. Base: 60 cm. x 45 cm. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1906-1907), pl. XIX, 3, text, p. 12.

⁹⁸From pit I. Length: 73 cm.; width: 40 cm.; height: 18 cm. Average height of figures: 25 cm. Chassinat, *Fouilles d'Assiout*, pp. 49-50; pl. XV, 2.

⁹⁹From Asyût, tomb No. 14 (of Wepwautemhet). Width: 33 cm.; length: 53 cm. Chassinat, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIV, 1 and 3, text, p. 164; *MFA Bull.*, April, 1905, p. 13.

As considerable color remains the following are noted: flesh of two grinding women and seated woman tending oven, rim of sieve, tallest jar and water jars on yoke, yellow; flesh of men, all the other jars or vats, peg on one side of grinding trough, red; headdress, edges of eyes, pupils and brows, black; top surface of sieve, sides of grinding trough, top of small vats, upper surface and sides of base, and sclerotic of eyes, white.

6. Cairo Museum, beer-making scene.¹⁰⁰ Twelfth dynasty. Seven male figures: three prepare, mix and strain ingredients of beer; two water carriers bear pairs of pitchers hung from a yoke held on the shoulders; sixth figure apparently prepares bread; and seventh stands inside large tub, kneading dough with his feet. Six large beer jugs lie on their sides.
7. Limoges, Musée Municipal de l'Evêché.¹⁰¹ Middle Kingdom. Wood. Four men and three women: one porter carrying wood on left shoulder; one water carrier with yoke; one man before kneading trough (?); one clerk with writing tablet; two women kneading dough beside a large kneading trough; another woman beside a block (?). One large cylindrical oven and two amphoras of beer.
8. References to other examples: Kamal, *Annales*, II, p. 39; XI, p. 24; XII, pp. 100, 114.

III. MEN BUTCHERING CATTLE AND PREPARING MEAT.

Type 1. *Man slaughtering calf, ox, or sheep.* All examples are of limestone.

1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 30.1462 (Pl. 32d).¹⁰² Fourth dynasty. A squatting man is cutting up an animal; the latter is depicted in high relief on the top surface of a low block or platform in front of the man's raised left leg. The right leg is drawn up so that the foot is under the right hip. The right hand holds a flint knife. The animal's hind legs are tied to the forelegs.
2. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10626 (Pl. 32a).¹⁰³ Fifth dynasty. A standing man leans over so that his back is almost horizontal, and is about to slaughter a calf. An unusual feature is that the right foot is hanging over the base (?). But it will be noticed that figure 10636 (p. 11) from the same group stands on a small, thin base which in turn is set into a larger base. Now, the thinness of the base¹⁰⁴ in the case of figure 10626 indicates without doubt that it too was set into a larger base of stone. Thus although the right leg overhangs its own base, it would rest on the secondary larger base which is now lacking. The line running up the man's right thigh and terminated by something resembling a handle was at first puzzling, but is explained by related Old-Kingdom relief scenes. It must be either a cord, thong, or other means of attachment while the handle belongs to a whetstone used in sharpening the edge of the archaistic flint knife employed in slaughtering and cutting up the animal. Ordinarily the cord or thong stood, in real life and in the

¹⁰⁰From Beni Hasan, tomb 116 (of Nefery). Length: 63.5 cm. Garstang, *op. cit.*, figs. 61, 62, pp. 74-75.


¹⁰¹Périchon Collection. Base: 42 cm. x 22 cm. Height of figures: from 11 cm. to 20 cm. Delpech-Laborie, *Guide-Catalogue Sommaire*, pl. XIII, p. 54.

¹⁰²From Giza, G 7530A, tomb of Meresankh III. Height: 19.5 cm.; length: 19 cm. Cf. W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 100, fig. 14b, p. 43.

¹⁰³Belongs to Nikauanupe group. Height: 37 cm.; width: 14.2 cm.; length: 38 cm.

¹⁰⁴Sides and bottom have rough chisel marks.

reliefs, away from the body.¹⁰⁵ But in three-dimensional representations it was technically impossible to carve the cord or rope otherwise than lying directly on the surface of the body or skirt. It is definitely established that the object stuck into the belt is a whetstone, for in certain cases figures about to slaughter an ox are engaged in the sharpening process.¹⁰⁶ In other scenes whetstones are not actually in use.¹⁰⁷ In most of the scenes of slaughter, other figures appear with the whetstone in the belt, and the line attached to it is fixed at the other end to the bottom corner of one end of the short skirt.¹⁰⁸ The figure in the tomb of Ptah-hetep is posed approximately in the same way as the Oriental-Institute example, No. 10626, but the line of attachment is away from the body, while in the Chicago figure the line lies on the skirt. The hind feet and left forefoot of the calf are tied together; the right forefoot is held in the man's left hand. The knife in the right hand has been restored. Colors: skin, red; hair, black; ox, red and black.

3. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10625 (Pl. 34b).¹⁰⁹ Fifth dynasty. Standing man, engaged in slaughtering a calf whose feet are bound together, and whose neck rests on a small block. On the man's head his hair is not only indicated by color but also in slightly raised relief. The hairline above the forehead is in the shape of a double cupid's bow, thus: .¹¹⁰ Unlike No. 2 above, the base on which this figure stands was not intended to be inserted into a larger base. Another difference is in the fact that the whetstone is stuck into the belt at the left rather than the right side.
4. Cairo Museum, 37823.¹¹¹ Fifth dynasty. A standing man leans forward to kill a well-bound animal.

*Type 2. Model scenes of servants slaughtering animals and preparing meat.*¹¹² All models are of wood.

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 04.1781 (Pl. 33).¹¹³ Eleventh dynasty. Four male figures: one man is cutting up a bound ox with knife held in right hand. Second man, with left leg slightly raised, and leaning forward with arms outstretched, probably held bowl in which to catch blood. Third man stands with arms outstretched, and carries ox's left foreleg. Fourth man fans with left hand a circular

¹⁰⁵Cf. Chicago University, *op. cit.*, pl. 54, bottom register; the figure at the extreme right end carries a whetstone stuck behind in the belt, attached to a rope or cord.

¹⁰⁶Cf. Klebs, *RAR*, p. 121. In the offering chamber from the tomb of Kaipure in the University Museum in Philadelphia. I have counted six figures of men having a whetstone stuck in the belt.

¹⁰⁷Cf. Paget and Pirie, *The Tomb of Ptah-hetep*, pl. XXXIV, second register from the top, and *ibid.*, pl. XXXVI, first and second registers from the bottom.

¹⁰⁸Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti*, pl. 72, fifth figure from the left.

¹⁰⁹Height: 29 cm.; width: 10.1 cm.; length: 26.5 cm. This belongs to the Nikauanupe group. When purchased, the figure was broken at the knees and at the upper part of the arms. These breaks, part of the right hand, and the knife have all been restored.

¹¹⁰Cf. No. 10634, p. 28, and No. 10628, pp. 49-50.

¹¹¹From Giza, serdab of tomb of Zasha, unpublished.

¹¹²Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, p. 104, III.

¹¹³From Asyüt, tomb No. 7 (of Nakhti). Purchased. Dimensions of base: width: 42.5 cm.; length: 44 cm.; height of figures: 44 cm. Cf. *MFA Bull.*, April, 1905, pp. 13, 14; Chassinat, *Fouilles d'Assiout*, pl. XV, 1, text, p. 50.

hearth; his fan is yellow and black, and the hearth red, dark red, and white. Where the butcher cuts the ox there are alternate red and white stripes; butcher's skirt is spotted with ox blood. First and third figures appear to have short blond or white hair, while second and fourth wear black wigs.

2. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 20.3.10 (Pl. 34c).¹¹⁴ Eleventh dynasty. Slaughter house: scene of slaughter of two oxen takes place in columned hall two stories high, one wall of which is lower to let in light and air. A goose is being plucked. Blood puddings are being made in corner over fires fanned by two men. Work is superintended by clerk and overseer, each with baton in hand. Clerk has pen case and papyrus roll. Joints of beef hang on line on balcony in back. From court three doors lead into chamber or rooms below balcony. Stairway leads to balcony.
3. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.¹¹⁵ Twelfth dynasty. Model consists of bound ox and three male figures: One man has just cut jugular vein as he leans over ox. Second man, also leaning over, catches blood in bowl. Third figure tends three-legged cauldron.
4. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum, 1694 (Pl. 35).¹¹⁶ Middle Kingdom. Model contains bound ox and five male figures: Standing man with knife in right hand cutting animal's throat; seated man gathering ox's blood; standing man stirring something (perhaps blood pudding) in a container, with right hand; seated clerk with pen case and writing tablet, and white band around headdress; and finally, squatting figure of owner wrapped in cloak.¹¹⁷
5. Other examples, provenance and references:
New York, Metropolitan Museum, 11.150.6-7, from Asyüt; Limoges, Musée Municipal de l'Evêché, from Périchon Collection.

Type 3. Model ox slaughtered.

1. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 26.3.103. Eleventh dynasty. From museum excavations at Thebes. Unpublished.
2. Meir. Slaughtered bull or ox from tomb of unknown person.¹¹⁸ Middle Kingdom. Feet bound in usual manner; side on which animal lies is flat without horn or ear; the other side is normal.

IV. MODEL SCENES OF BAKING, BREWING, AND SLAUGHTERING

Type 1. Baking and brewing in same house or room. All examples are of wood. Since beer-making involved making barley bread as well, it is often difficult to distinguish ordinary bread-making from brewing scenes. Frequently the two occupations were combined in the same model. Such cases are here treated together.¹¹⁹

1. Liverpool, Institute of Archaeology.¹²⁰ Intermediate Period. In bread-making scene, two women prepare dough, while another squats before fire. Accumulated

¹¹⁴From tomb of Meketre, Deir el Bahari. Length: 76.8 cm. Winlock, *MMA Bull.*, Dec., 1920, pt. II, p. 26, fig. 10, p. 20.

¹¹⁵From Beni Hasan, tomb 366 (of Khety). Garstang, *op. cit.*, fig. 94, p. 105, and p. 224.

¹¹⁶Roeder, *op. cit.*, fig. 19, pp. 73-74. Length: 33 cm.

¹¹⁷Cf. Lansing, *MMA Bull.*, April, 1933, pt. II, pp. 18, 20-1, figs. 16, 17.

¹¹⁸Kamal, *Annales*, XI, pp. 16-17. Length: 14 cm.; height: 11 cm.

¹¹⁹Klebs, *RMR*, p. 119, XVI, p. 120, XVII.

¹²⁰From Beni Hasan, tomb 707 (of Ipi). Length: 52 cm. Garstang, *op. cit.*, fig. 125, p. 127.

heaps of what probably is dough are at foot of tray beside the two kneading women. Brewing scene: man straining mash; water carrier with two jugs suspended from yoke; man pounding grain with long pestle in mortar.

2. Berlin Museum, 10828 (Pl. 34a).¹²¹ Intermediate Period. Two figures: one woman grinds grain into flour while another tends the fire in an oven; she holds poker in right hand, and shades her face from glare with her left. Large jar near oven.
3. London, British Museum, 40915.¹²² Eleventh dynasty. Largest model of bread-making and brewing ever found: line of thirteen standing women grind grain, each with small red grinding stone in her hands, and larger raised grinding trough directly in front. Twelve squatting men face the line of standing women, sifting flour and perhaps making dough. Back to back to the men squat three bakers, each in front of a tall black oven.¹²³ Between the ovens stand three brewers straining mash through sieves into vats. A man holding a stick in his right hand watches over the whole scene.
4. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 20.3.12 (Pl. 36a, 36b).¹²⁴ Eleventh dynasty. Bakery and brewery in one building separated into two rooms by partition wall. Brewery: staff consists of seven figures. 1. Doorkeeper with baton; 2. Small man standing in vat treading dough; 3. Man pouring off liquid into crock; 4. Man kneading dough; 5. Man bruising grain with pestle; 6. Two women grinding grain into flour. This room is nearest entrance door. Thirteen figures comprise bakery staff: 1. Two men bruising grain with pestle; 2. Two women grinding grain into flour; 3. Two men each tending a different oven; 4. Two men mixing dough, each standing in a tall tub; 5. Man bruising grain with pestle; 6. Two men forming dough into cakes; 7. Two men each tending a round oven. Heads of men are shaven; they usually wear white skirts and are nude to waist.
5. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 32.1.125 (Pl. 38a).¹²⁵ Twelfth dynasty. This brewing and baking scene is in back of a granary court¹²⁶ and a spinning and weaving¹²⁷ room in the same model. It contains: a man forming dough-cakes; woman grinding grain; woman mixing something in deep mortar with small pestle; and man straining mash.
6. Bristol, Museum and Art Gallery, H. 4596.¹²⁸ Twelfth dynasty. Four figures, besides one or more missing. Model is so crude that it is difficult to distinguish between various tasks.

¹²¹From Upper Egypt. Berlin, *Ausf. Verzeichnis*, 1899, p. 76.

¹²²From tomb No. 3, Deir el Bahari. Naville, *Eleventh Dynasty Temple*, I, p. 44, pl. IX; British Museum, *Guide to the 4th, 5th and 6th Egyptian Rooms*, p. 20. Base: 78.7 cm. x 47 cm.

¹²³There were originally four ovens with an attendant before each.

¹²⁴From tomb of Meketre, Deir el Bahari. Length: 73.2 cm. Winlock, *MMA Bull.*, Dec., 1920, pt. II, p. 26, fig. 12, p. 21.

¹²⁵From Lisht, south pyramid, Mastaba B (Dhuty). Lansing, *MMA Bull.*, April, 1933, pt. II, pp. 18, 20-1, figs. 16, 17.

¹²⁶See p. 15.

¹²⁷See p. 54.

¹²⁸From Beni Hasan, tomb 275 (of Thaay). Mentioned in Garstang, *op. cit.*, p. 221. Base: 33 cm. x 20.3 cm. Height: 25.4 cm.

7. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1914.77.¹²⁹ Twelfth dynasty. Standing woman, straining mash or kneading dough.
8. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1914.71 (Pl. 37a).¹³⁰ Twelfth dynasty. Five figures: 1. Man, 14.5 cm. high, face missing: upper part of body dark red, lower, white; wears black wig and short white skirt of coarse linen, engaged in straining mash through sieve into vat; mesh of sieve indicated by painted lines crossing at right angles; stands with left arm resting on edge of sieve, right arm bent over left hand. 2. Standing male overseer, 15 cm. high, wearing short black wig and skirt of coarse linen extending from waist to ankle; right arm extended, left slightly raised from side. 3. Squatting woman, 10 cm. high, wearing long black wig, and white garment from waist; flesh, buff, both arms missing. 4. Woman, 11.5 cm. high, grinding grain on saddle-stone or quern; flesh, buff. 5. Woman, 12.5 cm. high, similar to No. 4, with addition of long coarse linen skirt. Two ovens: 1. Domed oven, painted white with black lines radiating vertically from top; triangular opening at bottom. 2. Oven in shape of truncated cone with three incised rings, each having vertically incised grooves forming a checker pattern in which the squares have been painted red; rest of oven is white; triangular opening at base. Such an oven was probably used for baking breads which had first been placed in conical baked clay vessels.
9. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1914.72.¹³¹ Twelfth dynasty. Three figures engaged in bread- or beer-making: male overseer, 17 cm. high, in striding pose; squatting woman, 11 cm. high, whose right arm apparently held stick and who probably tended fire; man, 13 cm. high, carrying jugs on yoke across shoulders.
10. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 21.886 (Pl. 37b).¹³² Twelfth dynasty. Bread- and beer-making scenes with four figures: woman wearing black wig and long white skirt grinds meal on raised grinding stone; striding figure carries tray of breads on left shoulder; seated female tends fire; standing man strains mash. Tray of breads has lines on top marking off one piece from another.
11. Two examples from Limoges, Musée Municipal de l'Evêché (Pl. 39b, one shown).¹³³ Twelfth dynasty. Each has five figures engaged in usual tasks.
12. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10514 (Pl. 38b).¹³⁴ Middle Kingdom. Scene of baking and brewing containing six figures: 1. Standing man crushes grain in mortar with pestle; 2. Two kneeling women (?) grind flour on grinding stones; 3. Squatting man collects flour from the two grinding stones and makes it into dough; 4. Another squatting man tends bake-oven and makes bread; 5. Standing man breaks bread

¹²⁹Probably from Beni Hasan, but not figured in Garstang, *Burial Customs*.

¹³⁰From Beni Hasan (?). Purchased from Martyn Kennard Collection. Base: 32 cm. x 18.5 cm. Ranke, *Art of Ancient Egypt*, fig. 82.

¹³¹From Beni Hasan (?). Purchased from Martyn Kennard Collection. Cf. Sotheby's *Sale Catalogue*, July 18, 1912, p. 51, No. 506.

¹³²From El Bersheh, pit 10 A, chamber between coffin 4 and east wall.

¹³³From Meir. Excavations of M. and Madame Périchon-Bey. Delpech-Laborie, *Guide-Catalogue Sommaire*, pl. XIII, text, p. 53.

¹³⁴From Asyût. Purchased from André Bircher, Cairo. Length: 48.5 cm.; width: 39.5 cm. Height of figures: 24.2 cm.-29.5 cm.

up into small pieces and forces these through sieve into water-filled vat below. Numerous jars and containers are scattered about. The oven appears to be built of dough-filled cones or conical jars.

13. Copenhagen, National Museum, 5492 (Pl. 39c).¹³⁵ Middle Kingdom. Baking and brewing scene containing six figures: in view of the damage to the base, the rather good preservation of the figures, and their careful, unorthodox arrangement certainly hint at modern tampering by antiquity dealers. It is not clear what each is doing.
14. Other examples, provenance and references:
Sakkara, tomb 225, in Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, p. 41; Manchester Museum, 6598 A-G, from Sedment, tomb 1525, in Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, p. 7; Beni Hasan, tomb of Antef (No. 1), in Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 51, p. 64; Cairo Museum, from Beni Hasan, tomb of Nefery (No. 116), in Garstang, *op. cit.*, figs. 61, 63, and pp. 74, 76; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, from Beni Hasan, tomb of Khety (No. 366), in Garstang, *op. cit.*, fig. 124, p. 127; Meir, tomb of Kay-Henent, in Kamal, *Annales*, XI, p. 24.

Type 2. Scenes of baking, brewing and slaughtering in one room or house. Models in which the three occupations occur together usually have a standing brewer straining mash, a woman grinding, a seated figure at a bake-oven, a standing man slaughtering an ox while a seated man catches the blood in a container. There are also sealed beer jugs, vats and other containers. The material is wood.

1. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 11495 (Pl. 40a).¹³⁶ Seven figures in three groups:
1. Slaughter: standing man leans over ox as he cuts jugular vein; squatting second man catches blood; man, squatting beside hind quarters of ox, engaged in unrecognizable occupation. 2. Brewing: man straining mash through sieve into vat; woman apparently sealing beer jugs. 3. Bread-making: woman grinds grain into flour with an assistant squatting beside her. Model also has several sealed beer jugs, vats and baskets.
2. Copenhagen, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, A 505 (Pl. 39a).¹³⁷ Eight figures:
1. Slaughter: standing man cutting ox's throat. 2. Brewing: two porters, one of them a woman, carrying baskets on their heads and in the case of the woman a bird is in right hand; two standing male figures whose task is not clear. 3. Bread-making: figure grinding flour, and second figure probably tending fire in cylindrical oven. Two vats and a large jar streaked with dough are present.
3. Copenhagen, National Museum, 7548.¹³⁸ Seven figures: man slaughtering ox; woman grinding flour; woman tending domed oven; man straining mash; three other figures mixing dough, or doing an undetermined task. The style and

¹³⁵From El Bersheh. Base: 40 cm. x 33 cm. Purchased from Kyticas, Cairo.

¹³⁶From Sedment, tomb 2105. Ninth dynasty. Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, p. 10. Length: 36 cm.; width: 23 cm.; height: 11.5 cm.

¹³⁷From Sedment, tomb of Wazet-hotp. Ninth dynasty. Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, pl. XX, 3, text, p. 7; Mogensen, *La Collection Egyptienne*, pl. LXIII, text, p. 66. Height: 38 cm.

¹³⁸40 cm. x 33 cm. Provenance unknown. Unpublished.

technique of the figures in this model resemble those of No. 1 above; hence are probably from Sedment and must date from the Ninth or Tenth dynasty.

4. Copenhagen, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, A 520 (Pl. 40b).¹³⁹ Scene of slaughter, brewing and baking, each separated by partition wall. Slaughter: butcher has just cut throat of bound ox, as the line of red at the neck indicates; he holds in his right hand a large knife while a man seated opposite him has a jar in which to catch the blood. A woman standing near the hind quarters seems to be striking the animal to prevent coagulation of the blood. In the corner a seated man is roasting a goose over a fire. Brewery: a seated man kneads dough while a standing woman crushes grain in a mortar with pestle. A seated man tends a fire in a cylindrical oven. Bakery: work is carried on by women. One crushes grain in a mortar with a pestle; two others grind grain into flour; a fourth tends a domed oven.¹⁴⁰
5. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1921.1657.¹⁴¹ Slaughter: Two men in usual positions. Bread-making: woman seated beside grinding stone for making flour; a standing woman with arms outstretched reaching toward jars containing dough (?). Brewing: standing man leaning far forward straining mash through a sieve into a vat. Beside vat is a stand containing five sealed jars. A second man stands nearby. A third kneels beside the sealed jars, and a fourth is seated beside a tub or bin. On the base lie two birds with white breasts and buff backs. They seem to have no place in this group but rather to belong to the right hands of two female porters from the same tomb.¹⁴²
6. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 11.150.12.¹⁴³ Twelfth dynasty. Slaughter: man cuts throat of bound ox, while assistant catches blood in bowl to cook it in large dish in the corner. Brewing: near vats, and jars, standing man pounds grain in mortar with pestle, while another seated brewer stirs mash or dough in jar. Baking: seated man forms cakes on slabs, while another tends oven. Two large grinding mills were probably operated by two women (now lacking), and another woman may have watched oven on which conical loaves of bread are baking.
7. Cairo Museum.¹⁴⁴ Twelfth dynasty. Bread-making: man crushes grain with large pestle on stone base to fit it; standing woman grinds flour on raised grindingstone; the latter should be turned so that it can be operated from the end and not from the side as at present; another woman tends oven. Brewing: on other side of low

¹³⁹From Sakkara, tomb of Gemniemhet. Ninth dynasty. Length: 61 cm.; width: 50 cm.; height: 17 cm. Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 31, A, B, text, p. 53; Mogensen, *op. cit.*, pl. LXVI, text, p. 69.

¹⁴⁰The vertical markings on the exterior of the oven appear to represent baked clay cones in which bread is baked. Cf. Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker*, pl. XI.

¹⁴¹From Sedment, Tomb of Mertetes. Ninth dynasty. Base: 35.5 cm. x 22.5 cm. Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, p. 12 and pl. XXXIX, No. 2112.

¹⁴²Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, No. 1921. 1660a (p. 62). The two birds may have been wrongly placed in their present position by those responsible for the burial. Two holes are drilled in the right hands of both porters and each bird also has a hole.

¹⁴³From Meir. Purchased. 49 cm. x 30 cm.

¹⁴⁴From Beni Hasan, tomb of Thau, otherwise called 'Anti emhet (No. 186). Length: 61 cm.; height of tallest figure: 20 cm. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 75, p. 86.

partition standing man strains mash through sieve; another man stands behind three vessels; one vessel is tilted and seems to have gauze tied over its mouth; tall man carries large wine jar. Usual slaughtering scene.

8. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, scene of baking, brewing, and slaughter.¹⁴⁵ Twelfth dynasty. Model includes seven figures within courtyard wall.
9. Other examples, provenance and references:
Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E. 5798, 4, from Sedment, tomb 374, in Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, pl. XXVI, 13, text, p. 7; two very fine models from Sakkara, tomb of Usermut (or Usernekhbet) and Anpuemhet, in Quibell-Hayter, *Teti pyramid, North Side*, pl. XXIV and pp. 13, 40; accessories from model in Berlin Museum, Nos. 1367-72, 1374, 1376-78; in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Textband, I, p. 158, Ergänzungsband, pl. XLVI: two models in Cairo Museum from Beni Hasan, tomb of Khnem-nekhti and Neter-nekhti (No. 585), in Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 84 and p. 94.

V. KITCHEN SCENES.

Type 1. Single figures leaning over vessels which seem to contain food or drink.

1. Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum, 2572 (Pl. 41a).¹⁴⁶ Fifth dynasty. Limestone. Standing man who leans over a somewhat flared pottery container. I have been unable to find a parallel in the reliefs for the contents of the vessel. They may be meat; yet the curious spiral shape which they assume suggests something akin to an eel. They might even be dough. The man's left hand grasps the edge of the bowl as though to lean slightly on it, while the right hand takes hold of the contents, whatever they may have been. The arms are free. The hair is cut short, and is indicated in low raised relief. The ears are quite large.
2. Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum, 2570 (Pl. 41b).¹⁴⁷ Fifth dynasty. Limestone. Standing figure leaning over, grasping a bucket-shaped container. The sex is doubtful, although it is probably a woman. The bucket-shaped container has a circular cover; the latter has what appears to be a hole at one end, perhaps to facilitate pouring. The figure appears to be about to lift the container. The hair is short, and the ears are too large. We find in the face much the same characteristics as in the other servant statues from the tomb of Zasha, i.e., thick lips and wide nose and mouth.

Type 2. Squatting on the ground, a man is engaged in cleaning or cooking fowl, usually a goose. For cooking, the fowl is spitted on a long stick which is held over a low basin of coals. Sometimes the man is cutting up and cleaning a goose. Frequently he grasps a fibre fan with one hand. In the reliefs the theme is a common one.¹⁴⁸

1. Cairo Museum, 37824.¹⁴⁹ Fifth dynasty. Limestone. This is a headless figure with knees up. A goose seems to have been placed on a brazier, or may still have been in the plucking stage.

¹⁴⁵From Beni Hasan, tomb of Khetyi (No. 575). Length: 37 cm.; width: 34 cm.; height of walls: 9 cm. Garstang, *op. cit.*, fig. 127, p. 129.

¹⁴⁶Height: 28 cm.; base: 19 x 9 cm. From serdab of tomb of Zasha at Giza.

¹⁴⁷From tomb of Zasha at Giza. Height: 28 cm.; base: 16 x 10 cm.

¹⁴⁸Cf. Klebs, *RAR*, p. 77, I, fig. 57a, p. 71, and fig. 81, p. 99.

¹⁴⁹From the serdab of Zasha at Giza.

2. Harvard-Boston Expedition, G 2088, Reg. No. 38-4-3. (Pl. 42d).¹⁵⁰ Fifth dynasty. Limestone. A squatting male figure is cutting up a goose. His head is broken off at the neck and is now replaced in position. The knife is held in the right hand, while the left steadies the goose.
3. Cairo Museum, 245.¹⁵¹ Sixth dynasty. Wood. The cook's left hand holds a stick with a spitted fowl at the further end. The right hand holds a papyrus fan, with which to keep alight the burning charcoal contained in a shallow bowl lying in front of the figure. The fowl is yellow with red points and black areas.
4. Cairo Museum, 242.¹⁵² Sixth dynasty. Wood. Man in same posture as Cairo 245. The right hand is slightly raised, and perhaps once held a short stick with a spitted goose at the far end but both are now gone. The base is rectangular. A short skirt is worn; the hair is short. In the matter of color, the hair, brows, eyelids, pupils and contents of the plate or bowl in front are all black; the whites of eyes and the skirt are white. The bowl is red; the skin, reddish brown.
5. London, British Museum, 29596.¹⁵³ Twelfth dynasty. Wood. Squatting man holds fan in right hand; the left hand formerly held spit with goose or duck on it. Circular dish in front held live coals.
6. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 785.22.¹⁵⁴ Twelfth dynasty. Wood. Man standing before a block and small dish, right arm stretched out holding a spit.
7. Cairo Museum, 499.¹⁵⁵ Twelfth dynasty. Wood. Squatting man tending fire and cooking: Left hand held spit, right hand held fan; but only the stub of each object remains.
8. Other examples, provenance and references:
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, from Sedment, tomb of Nebemsuhet (No. 604) in Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, pl. XVII, 3, text, p. 4; Naga-ed-Dêr N 202 and N 43, unpublished, W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

A. Limestone accessories surviving from wooden models of man preparing fowl for eating. Some of these may be model chopping blocks. Probably Sixth dynasty.

1. Harvard-Boston Expedition, G 2347 a.¹⁵⁶ From Giza. All that survives is a round open limestone brazier of coals, which may have been for cooking a goose.
2. Cairo Museum, 261.¹⁵⁷ A round limestone bowl or basin having a rim of four concentric rings. In the center lie the coals, with traces of red on them.

¹⁵⁰From Giza. Height: 24.2 cm. Illustrated in W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, fig. 18c, p. 91.

¹⁵¹Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 51, text, p. 159. From the tomb of Ni'ankh-Pepy-Kem at Meir. Although Borchardt definitely states that the spitted fowl is a goose, the bird is so small, that in my opinion it is more probably a duck.

¹⁵²Borchardt, *op. cit.*, pl. 51, pp. 157-158. Length: 28.5 cm. From the tomb of Ni'ankh-Pepy-Kem at Meir.


¹⁵³Height: 22.2 cm. British Museum, *Guide to 4th, 5th and 6th Egyptian Rooms*, p. 20. Provenance unknown.

¹⁵⁴From Antinoë, cl. B 46. Base: 26 cm. x 9 cm. Height of figure: 18.5 cm.

¹⁵⁵Provenance unknown. Height: 26 cm. Borchardt, *Statuen*, II, pl. 85, text, p. 71.

¹⁵⁶W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, fig. 24, p. 99.

¹⁵⁷Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 56, text, p. 167; Diameter: 15.5 cm. Provenance unknown.

3. Cairo Museum, 260.¹⁵⁸ A rectangular limestone container for burning charcoal.¹⁵⁹ Along the sides of the container are  signs: 6 at each end, and 11 on each side. On the upper edge of one of the long sides are two long eyes which have not been bored through, but which were bored in the forms used in real life so that ropes might be attached. In the oval opening on top of the container charcoal is represented. The colors are: the container, brown with some black below; the charcoal, red and brown.
4. Cairo Museum, 262.¹⁶⁰ Three plucked geese lie on a base which is rectangular at one end, rounded at the other. Near the rectangular end is a "flint" knife done in raised relief. The colors are: base, reddish brown, with some black along the bottom edges; the geese, yellowish, their legs, rose-color, their necks, reddish brown, heads, black, eyes, white (?), and the knife, black. This piece may have belonged to a wooden figure of a man engaged in plucking geese, or it may simply have been in the same category as the models of cooked meats and fowls, with limestone cases for such food, which were discovered by the Harvard-Boston Expedition in burial chamber G 2385 at Giza.¹⁶¹
5. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10644 (Pl. 98b, upper).¹⁶² This seems to be a model chopping block.¹⁶³ A "flint" knife and the severed head of a goose are in raised relief on the upper surface. One end of the block is rectangular, the other rounded.

Type 3. A squatting man cooking bread for forcible feeding to fowl. A heretofore unidentified occupation as shown in sculpture. Limestone. Fifth dynasty.

1. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10629 (Pl. 42a, 42b).¹⁶⁴ Khenu, Son of Nikauanupe, squatting before a basin which is steadied by three supports. In it are dough-shaped objects among them what may be an animal's head. The right arm is held so that the hand is directly over the contents of the basin. The right hand appears to grasp some sort of flat object designed or intended for mixing purposes. The second finger of the right hand is relaxed. The left hand grasps a triangular papyrus (?) fan, with which he increases the efficiency of his small charcoal fire. He wears only a short skirt. The space between the basin and the legs, and that between the lower part of the arms is free. The neck is overly thick, and the face rather flat and coarse. The ears are large. The hair is not in raised relief, but is painted on. Colors: skin, contents of pot, and pot, reddish brown; fan, tan; skirt and toenails, white; base, hair and coals or supports for pot, grey.

¹⁵⁸Borchardt, *loc. cit.* Length: 17 cm. Provenance unknown.

¹⁵⁹Borchardt attributes it to the Fifth dynasty, whereas William Stevenson Smith suggests that it may very well belong to the Sixth, since in the Sixth dynasty it was common practice to equip wooden figures with just such limestone accessories.

¹⁶⁰Borchardt, *loc. cit.* White limestone. Length: 18 cm. Provenance unknown.

¹⁶¹W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, fig. 22, p. 93.

¹⁶²This was acquired from the same dealer and at the same time as the figures in the Nikauanupe group. If it belongs to the latter group, it is not an accessory to a wooden figure. But it may well be from another tomb.

¹⁶³Height: 2.4 cm.; width: 7 cm.; depth: 3.5 cm. Limestone.

¹⁶⁴This belongs to the Nikauanupe group. Height: 20.7 cm.; width: 9.9 cm.; depth: 17.6 cm. Inscribed on upper surface of base.

2. Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum, 2562 (Pl. 42c, 43).¹⁶⁵ The man squats in much the same fashion as No. 1 above, except that the knees are slightly apart. The basin rests on a comparatively large bed of charcoals which in turn lie on a circular base or hearth. With his left hand the man fingers an object in the cauldron. It is not clear whether this object belongs to the articles being cooked or whether it is the upper end of something used for stirring. At any rate, the right hand rather delicately touches this object. The left hand holds the same type of triangular fan as in No. 1 above. A perusal of Old-Kingdom reliefs has resulted in the discovery first of two figures performing the same task as here represented in the round, and second in the identification of the task itself. One occurs in the mastaba of Mereruka.¹⁶⁶ The other is in the mastaba of Ti.¹⁶⁷ In both cases the right hand holds the triangular fan, while the left is stirring the contents of the pot. The Mereruka example shows no fire under the pot, though the presence of a fan is strongly suggestive of one. In the Ti example the pot is raised on low supports, thereby leaving enough room for a fire. Yet none seems to be indicated. The Mereruka pot rests directly on the ground without such support. In both cases there is a figure seated opposite, each time in a similar pose, engaged in forming pellets. The inscriptions *fs t* and *swt t*, "cooking bread" and "rolling bread" are also identical. The latter, according to the *Wörterbuch*,¹⁶⁸ refers to preparing paste balls for forcible feeding of birds, and that is evidently what the three dimensional figures of this type are doing. Nearby in both the relief scenes quoted, servants are forcibly feeding bread pellets to birds.

Type 4. Groups performing various duties in model kitchen scenes.

1. Sedment, tomb of Meryre-hashetef.¹⁶⁹ Sixth dynasty. Wood. Three men in cooking scene. Starting from left to right, the first man is arranging eatables on a very low table or platform; both arms are well forward, holding either a loaf of bread or possibly a jar. In the center sits a cook fanning his fire (now vanished) with a triangular fan held in the left hand, while he holds a spitted bird over the coals with his right hand. At the right a standing figure may be the chef responsible for the smooth running of the kitchen. His arms are held forward, and I suspect that he carried something which has since vanished. Each of the three figures wears a short white skirt.
2. Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum. Intermediate period. Complicated kitchen scene.¹⁷⁰ Roasting, cooking, baking, and grinding all represented. Squatting man holds spit with plucked duck at other end. Duck swings above red plate representing pan with glowing coals. Man's right hand holds fan. Bound ox, lying on left side, with head turned so that both horns lie on ground, has red mark on neck, i.e., slaughter wound; hide is spotted black and white. Butcher, cutting animal's neck, stands bent forward, right leg straight, left knee slightly bent. Left hand lies on animal's

¹⁶⁵From the serdab of the tomb of Zasha. Height: 28 cm.; base: 19 x 12 cm.

¹⁶⁶Chicago University, *Mereruka*, I, pl. 52, chamber A 6, west wall, near center of plate.

¹⁶⁷Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti*, pl. 25, bottom register, center.

¹⁶⁸III 429.

¹⁶⁹Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, pl. XI, 4, text, p. 3.

¹⁷⁰From Abusir, tomb of Harsheshotep I. Length: 45 cm.; width: 38.5 cm.; height of side boards: 5 cm. Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, pp. 67-69, figs. 97-100, p. 66.

head; knife is just over neck wound. Butcher's skirt spotted with blood. Man standing opposite butcher holds jar spotted with blood, under animal's neck to catch blood. Standing woman crushes grain with pestle in mortar. Another woman is grinding grain. A third woman squats before door of dome-shaped oven. Her right hand holds poker extending into opening of oven. Another woman tends a charcoal fire in a cone-shaped oven. A man squats with his back to wall. Numerous jars and containers are scattered about.

3. Sakkara, tomb of Karenen.¹⁷¹ In yard two men are slaughtering an ox, and another man is roasting a goose. Under shelter fourth man is making beer, i.e., straining mash. In inner chamber there are three models, 5 to 7 cm. long, of joints of meat.
4. Berlin Museum, 1366, from Sakkara.¹⁷² Originally four figures: the woman kneading dough is missing. A second woman is seated before an oven. A seated man prepares beer by straining mash, while another man is in the attitude of roasting a goose.
5. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 785, 27.¹⁷³ Twelfth dynasty. Kitchen with servants: four men. Two mount a stairway to balcony roof. One crouches before fire. Fourth man stands before block on which bound animal is placed.
6. Other examples, provenance and references:
Sakkara, tomb of Anou (No. M XVI) in Jéquier, *Annales*, XXXV, p. 153; Sakkara, tomb 225, in Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, p. 41; Sakkara, tomb of Karenen, in Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, (1906-1907), p. 8.

Type 5. Men working with jars to be used in connection with preparation of food.
A. Man with his right hand inside jar which he steadies with his left hand. All examples are of limestone and from Fifth dynasty, except example 7. All or some of these figures may represent servants cleaning pots.¹⁷⁴

1. Cairo Museum, 112.¹⁷⁵ Traces of emplacement of four other jars on the base in front of him, the actual jars having disappeared. Colors: hair, brows, eyelids and base, black; skin and jar, reddish brown; skirt, white.
2. Cairo Museum, 113.¹⁷⁶ This man appears shorter and stockier than No. 1 above, which may be entirely due to the fact that he sits directly on the base. The right foot is thrown forward a little ahead of the left. A short skirt and an upper garment leaving the right shoulder free are worn; latter garment is very remarkable in Old Kingdom. The upper garment is knotted at the left shoulder. Traces of a moustache.
3. Cairo Museum, 116.¹⁷⁷ Much like No. 2 above.

¹⁷¹Length: 60 cm.; breadth: 41 cm.; height: 35 cm. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, (1906-1907), p. 11, pl. XIX, 1.

¹⁷²From sarcophagus of Gemni. Berlin, *Ausf. Verzeichnis* (1899), p. 76, and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Textband I, p. 154, and *Ergänzungsband*, pl. 46.

¹⁷³From Antinoë, cl. B 40. Base: 35 cm. x 34 cm. Height of figures: 14 cm.

¹⁷⁴Dr. William C. Hayes suggests these servants are coating interiors of pots with resin, pitch, or other non-porous substance. But cf. Junker, *Giza VII*, p. 112.

¹⁷⁵Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 25, text, p. 87. Height: 34 cm. From Sakkara, perhaps Mastaba D 54.

¹⁷⁶*Ibid.*, I, pl. 25, text, p. 88. From Sakkara, perhaps Mastaba D 56. Height: 38.5 cm.

¹⁷⁷*Ibid.*, I, pl. 26, text, pp. 89-90. Height: 25 cm. From Sakkara. Cf. Mar., *Mast.*, p. 235.

4. Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum, 2563 (Pl. 44a).¹⁷⁸ As in No. 2 above, short skirt and upper garment leaving the right shoulder free are worn. But there are certain differences: beside the jar on which the man is working, there are eight additional jars lying directly in front of him; they all have their open ends toward him. Although the man's right hand is mostly inside the jar, his thumb is visible on the outside, as though grasping the edge. It would appear that the group of jars and the figure are carved separately and recessed into the rectangular base. His left knee is not as high as the right; he sits directly on the base; his left shoulder is not as high as the right. His right foot is flat on the ground. But the left foot is held against the lower part of the side of the jar, and this necessitates the lowering of the knee.
5. Harvard-Boston Expedition, G 2420, Shaft D, Reg. No. 36-5-30 (Pl. 44c).¹⁷⁹ This figure varies from the usual in that it is nude. Part of the left arm is missing; the head is broken off, but has been replaced. The face is unsymmetrical. The left side of the mouth is lower than the right; the left cheek is fuller than the right; the lower part of the nose is further to the left than the upper part; the left ear is higher than the right; even the left shoulder is ever so slightly higher than the right.
6. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum, 2142 (Pl. 44b).¹⁸⁰ The figure holds the jar between his legs and works with his right hand. The arms and head are lacking; the jar standing beside him, although it had been broken away, was found lying between his legs. The upper surface of the base near the front is inscribed.
7. Cairo Museum, 244.¹⁸¹ Sixth dynasty. Wood. Figure of group: the man is seated with his legs almost flat on the base. Between his feet he holds a jar, in which his right hand is placed, and which he steadies with his left hand. He looks slightly downward. The position of the legs is different from all other examples of this type.

B. Standing man leaning over a basket full of small pots. Limestone. Fifth dynasty.

1. Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum, 2569 (Pl. 44d).¹⁸² Standing man leaning over a basket full of small pots possibly to be used for holding wine or beer.¹⁸³ The basket is packed so full of pots that the man has to use both hands to prevent possible breakage through their falling out; and to do this, he has to lean over. Characteristically, he does not look at what he is doing. Perhaps he is about to empty the basket of its load. His arms were broken in several places, and his head was broken off. This damage has been repaired. The base is rectangular.

¹⁷⁸Excavated at Giza in 1905 by Steindorff from the serdab of Mastaba D 39/40, tomb of Zasha. Height: 26 cm.; base: 23 x 14 cm.

¹⁷⁹W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 97, fig. 18a, p. 91. Now in Cairo Museum, No. 67570. Found at Giza. Height: 31 cm.

¹⁸⁰Cf. Roeder, *Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums*, p. 55. From tomb of Ptah-shepses, excavated in 1912-1913 at Giza. Height: 20 cm. Junker, *Giza VII*, p. 111, pl. 22d.

¹⁸¹Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 52, text, p. 159. From the tomb of Ni'ankh-Pepy-Kem at Meir. Length: 53 cm.

¹⁸²Height: 30 cm.; base: 16 x 10 cm. From the serdab of the tomb of Zasha, Mastaba D 39/40; discovered in 1905. Unpublished.

¹⁸³A possible parallel for the pots may be Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti*, pl. 83, second register from top, third (lower) figure from right, cleaning pots.

VI. DINING SCENE.

1. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 6273.¹⁸⁴ Intermediate period. Eight figures seated at a funerary meal, on benches at a table on which lie loaves of bread, cakes, and a tray with two vases. Colors: skin, bread, red; hair, eyes, black; skirts, white; vases, red and black.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴From Tell Hu (Diospolis), cl. B 5887, Eg. 6591, excavations of Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth. Rather crude, but excellently preserved. I have not seen a photograph of this. Unpublished.

¹⁸⁵Information kindly furnished by Mme. Eléonore Bille-De Mot, of the Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth.

CHAPTER III

INDUSTRIES: CRAFTSMEN AND SHOPS

THE industrial phases of the Egyptian economy were in early times represented in three-dimensional art by single figures in stone, and possibly in one known case in clay. After the Old Kingdom, wooden models of shops and craftsmen were included among other tomb equipment. Not only was the deceased to receive food and drink in the next world, but he was also to be assured of a plentiful supply of furniture, clothing, tools, and vessels for cooking and storing his food.

I. SINGLE FIGURES OF CRAFTSMEN.

Type 1. Man found with model tools.

1. Abadiyeh, grave B 119.¹ Predynastic. Since this burial was badly disturbed, it is not certain whether the clay seated man found with two model tools, a chisel and a hoe, was actually associated with them. If he was associated, this is the earliest example of a figure with model mechanical equipment.

Type 2. Squatting man forms a clay vessel on a slow wheel. The right hand moulds the bowl while the left turns the wheel. In the reliefs the type is well known.²

1. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10628 and 10645 (Pl. 45b).³ Fifth dynasty. Limestone. A skinny man, who is probably old, squats with his buttocks on a small block resembling a brick. His knees are drawn up. Seen in profile, his back is hunched. The man's thinness is brought out by numerous parallel lines in sunken relief to indicate the ribs, and the legs obviously have very little flesh on them. The cheek bones protrude somewhat, and the cheeks themselves are hollow. The head has a number of outstanding characteristics: its extreme flatness on top, the large ears, and the somewhat hollow cheeks. With his right hand he is forming the bowl as it revolves on the wheel which he turns with his left. His "wheel" is really a circular table which revolves on a vertical axis, and is of the slow type.⁴ The bowl which is being turned seems to rest on a large lump of clay. The potter, his wheel

¹Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, pl. VI, B119, text, p. 33; Petrie, *Preh. Eg.*, p. 7.

²Klebs, *RAR*, p. 90, II, 1.

³Part of Nikauanupe group. Height: 13.2 cm.; width: 6.7 cm.; length: 12.5 cm.; vases: height: 1.8 cm.; width: 4.8 cm. W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, pl. 28g, text, p. 100.

⁴A slow wheel is turned with the hand. A fast wheel has a second wheel below so that it may be turned by the feet. No fast wheel is known among servant figures.

with its vessel, and the base are all cut of one piece of stone. But the three jars, which are separate and have been photographed leaning against the base of this statue, may or may not have originally belonged to it. The hairline over the forehead is in the shape of a double cupid's bow. Colors: skin and wheel, reddish brown; base and vessel on wheel, grey; three separate vessels, red with grey rims.

Type 3. Kneeling smith operating forge by blowing through tube.

1. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10631 (Pl. 45a).⁵ Fifth dynasty. Limestone. A man kneeling on his right knee and resting his left elbow on his drawn-up left knee holds a blowpipe with both hands, while he blows through it and thereby gives a forced draft to the small fire directly in front of him. The same activity is fairly common among the reliefs.⁶ A difference in these reliefs is that one hand shades the face as well from the glare of the fire. The brazier on the coals seems to be of the same type depicted in the reliefs. The carving is excellent: the arms are free; and because the left knee is raised there is free space under the left hip all the way to the left foot. Seen in profile, his back is hunched. The nicest touch is the way the sculptor has depicted his subject with pouting cheeks, caused by blowing through the tube. The left shoulder is slightly higher than the right. A short skirt supported by a belt is worn. Colors: skin and forge, red; base, black.

II. SHOPS FOR CRAFTSMEN WHO WORKED IN CLAY, WOOD, STONE, AND METAL.

Type 1. Model pottery workshops. Intermediate period.

1. Cairo Museum.⁷ In this pottery-making scene, one man seated beside a circular kiln prepares clay for the potter. The second man turns a wheel with his left hand and forms a vessel with his right.
2. Cairo Museum.⁸ Condition too poor for description. A woman tends a kiln.
3. Cairo Museum.⁹ Condition too poor for description.

Type 2. Model carpenter shops.¹⁰

1. Cairo Museum.¹¹ Very complete carpenter shops with three figures: at one end a standing man with knees slightly bent, and body and left leg forward, is sawing a board from an upright beam with his left hand; the bronze saw is still in position, but its handle lies at the man's feet. At one side is a rod for tightening the cords around the beam; this was an Egyptian practice when sawing. In the middle, a seated man operates a bow drill, holding the cap for the drill in his left hand, and the bow in his right. At the other end of the model a seated man is fashioning a head rest with an adze held in the right hand.

⁵Height: 11.3 cm.; width: 5.4 cm.; length, 9.9 cm. This is part of the Nikauanupe group. W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, pl. 28a, text, p. 100.

⁶Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti*, pl. 134, first complete register from the top, second, third, fourth and fifth figures from the left; also Chicago University, *Mereruka*, I, pl. 29, second register from the bottom, second scene from the left. Klebs, *RAR*, p. 84, IV, 2.

⁷Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1906-1907), p. 76 and pl. XIX, 4.

⁸*Ibid.*, II, p. 76.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁰Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, p. 113 ff; IX.

¹¹From Sakkara, tomb of Karenen. Tenth dynasty. Length: 42 cm. Quibell, *Excav. at Saq.* (1906-7), pl. XVII, 4, text, pp. 10, 75.

2. Cairo Museum, 46722 (Pl. 46a).¹² Eleventh dynasty. In this partially roofed-over carpenter shop there are at least twelve figures, most of whom are seated around the three sides of the open court. In groups the men are engaged in squaring up large beams with adzes and then planing them with flat blocks of sandstone. One beam has been lashed vertically to a post in the center of the court, and one man is sawing it into boards. Another, who is seated on a plank, is cutting mortise holes with a mortising chisel and mallet. The chest in the center, which resembles a coffin, contained several sets of model tools.

Type 3. Shops of craftsmen who worked in clay, wood, stone, and metal in one model.

1. Copenhagen, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, A 518 (Pl. 46b).¹³ Blacksmith shop: here two seated smiths are operating a forge by blowing through blowpipes; the fire is under a small crucible having two orifices, one on top, the other at the side; the latter is kept closed during the period of heating by means of a stopper. The molten metal will be poured through this closed opening. The blowpipe is strengthened at one end with a ball of clay, and the crucible is placed in an open box so as to prevent its overturning.¹⁴ Carpenter shop: one carpenter is sawing boards from a beam which has been set up vertically; he holds the saw in his right hand, and with his left steadies the partially sawed board to offset the vibration. Of the two carpenters seated under the roof, one appears to be fashioning a beam, the other making a head rest. Potters' workshop: two seated men are working in the open air; one is kneading clay and rolling it into a long cylinder. The other is making clay vessels on a slow wheel before him; he turns the wheel apparently with his left hand and models with his right. Beside him is a rectangular board, perhaps used for putting the finishing touches on his products before they are removed from the wheel. A small chest was found with this threefold model; when its sliding top was opened it was seen to contain ten model tools: saws, axes, drills, and adzes.
2. Cairo Museum.¹⁵ Intermediate period. Five workmen are in this shop: one drills a vase, supporting his work on a bowl filled with white material, possibly sand. A second man tends a forge by blowing through a blowpipe. Another is drilling a hole in a block of wood. The fourth is working with an adze. The fifth man may be a potter with a wheel in front of him. One end of the model was roofed over, and contained a box filled with the following tools: adze, saw, axe, mortising chisel, drills with drill cap and bow, cubit, plummet, and clerk's palette.
3. Cairo Museum.¹⁶ There are four figures in this combination pottery and carpenter shop: one man forms clay into lumps suitable for use on a potter's wheel; a second man turning a wheel with his left hand forms a bowl with his right; a carpenter

¹²From Deir el Bahari, tomb of Meketre. Winlock, *MMA Bull.*, Dec., 1920, pt. II, p. 28, fig. 14, p. 23.

¹³From Sakkara, tomb of Gemniemhet. Height: 14 cm. Ninth dynasty. Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, p. 53, II, pl. 29, C; Mogensen, *La Collection Egyptienne*, pl. LXVI, text, pp. 68-69.

¹⁴Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, p. 108.

¹⁵From Sakkara, Tomb of Usermut (or Usernekhbet), and Anpuemhet. Base: 33 cm. x 21.5 cm.; height: 10 cm. Quibell-Hayter, *Teti Pyramid, North Side*, pp. 40-41, and pl. XXIV, 2.

¹⁶From Sakkara, tomb of Karenen. Tenth dynasty. Base: 38 cm. x 26 cm. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1906-1907), pl. XVII, 1 and 3, text, pp. 11, 75.

saws a plank lengthwise; in a corner another squatting carpenter is engaged in cabinet making. A circular kiln is at one side.

III. BRICK MAKING.

There is very little difference between the ancient and modern methods of making brick.¹⁷

1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 21.411 (Pl. 46c).¹⁸ Twelfth dynasty. This exceedingly interesting model contains five male figures; the first stands holding a hoe and appears to be breaking up the hard, dry mud. Beside him sits a second man with arms outstretched down and forward, apparently kneading the mud and mixing it with water from the bucket next to him. Two porters, each with right arm at side and left arm bent with hand at level of shoulders, must have carried mud of the proper consistency to the seated man at the other end of the model. This individual places mud in the form which he is touching with his left hand as it lies before him, and then as each brick is molded he places it in one of the two neat rows directly behind him to dry in the sun. Colors: skin, bucket, red; skirts, sides of mold and whites of eyes, white; headdresses, eyebrows, irises and edges of eyes, area around bucket, spots near mold, and mud bricks, black. It is interesting to note that no feet are indicated, perhaps because the ground was soft and muddy.
2. Beni Hasan, tomb 275.¹⁹ Twelfth dynasty. Only three men are here at work; one standing figure breaks up dry mud with a hoe held in both hands. At his left sits another man who is probably moistening and kneading the broken-up, dry mud. The third, who is also seated, is forming bricks in a mold.

IV. WORKERS IN LEATHER, FLAX, AND PAPYRUS.

Type 1. Leather worker.

1. Beni Hasan, tomb 275.²¹ Twelfth dynasty. A single seated man appears to be cutting out soles for a pair of sandals with a knife held in the right hand; he grasps one sandal with his left hand.

Type 2. Models of spinning and weaving scenes.²²

A. Intermediate period.

1. Copenhagen, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, A 516 (Pl. 47b).²³ The architecture of this spinning and weaving model is extraordinary. From each of three central posts arched beams radiate to the next post and the adjacent walls. The arrange-

¹⁷Cf. Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē*, pl. 58, 59, text, pp. 54-55; *Paintings*, pl. 16, 17; Blackman, *Fellāhin*, p. 303; Klebs, *RMR*, p. 118, XIII.

¹⁸From El Bersheh, tomb of Dehuti-nekht. Length: 54 cm. Dunham, *MFA Bull.*, Aug., 1921, p. 46.

¹⁹Formerly in Martyn Kennard Collection. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 129, p. 131.

²⁰Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, p. 121, XVIII.

²¹From Martyn Kennard Collection. Garstang, *ibid.*

²²Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, p. 125, XXIII, p. 127, XXIV; H. Ling Roth, *Ancient Egyptian and Greek Looms*; C. H. Jöhl, *Altägyptische Webestühle und Brettchenweberei in Ägypten*. For modern parallel to ancient spinning methods, cf. Winkler, *Ägyptische Volkskunde*, pl. 27-31, 100-104, and pp. 142-146, 416-426.

²³From Sakkara, tomb of Gemniemhet. Ninth dynasty. Length: 53 cm.; width: 29 cm.; height: 15 cm. Cf. Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, p. 53, II, pl. 31, C; Mogensen, *La Coll. Eg.*, pl. LXVI, text, p. 68.

ment strongly suggests a building with groin vaults.²⁴ Ten of the eleven figures appear to be women: two standing women are engaged in spinning; their spindles are preserved. The distaff is held in the left hand. While the right knee is raised the spindle is rubbed against the leg, thereby twisting the thread rapidly; when the spun thread is sufficiently long it is wound onto the spindle. Four women seated in pairs seem to be weaving linen on horizontal looms. Most of the various parts of the looms are preserved. Even the thread for weaving is piled up in one corner.

2. Munich, Ägyptische Sammlung, 425 (Pl. 47c).²⁵ Man standing on left leg with right knee raised, in attitude of person spinning. Evidently part of a spinning and weaving scene.²⁶
3. Manchester Museum, 6599A, B.²⁷ "A" is a girl standing with a stick, possibly a spindle, in her hands. The kneeling figure "B" has nothing to distinguish it.
4. Cairo Museum.²⁸ Although this model does not have as many arched beams as No. 1 above, it does have two such beams extending from one side of the model to the other. They may represent a barrel vault. There are five figures, all women. One stands opposite the door with her right leg raised in the attitude of spinning; a spinning whorl lies on the ground before her, and another is between her right arm and thigh. Behind her in another corner, two women sit with their backs against the wall, having before them a basin with a loop handle inside on the bottom; they must be getting thread ready for weaving. Two other girls operate a loom, probably in the same fashion as the figures in Klebs, *RMR*, fig. 94, p. 129.²⁹ It would appear that enough pieces of the loom are preserved to make possible a rather complete reconstruction.³⁰
5. Cairo Museum.³¹ Although no figures or their equipment were preserved in this model, the arched beams radiating from two central posts strongly suggest a building used for spinning and weaving. Quibell has called it a "vineyard." But vineyards in Egypt did not grow within the four walls of a groin-vaulted building, nor is there a single vineyard so represented in any wall paintings or reliefs.³² The walls and arched beams of this model are painted blue.

²⁴I do not know of a single surviving building from the First Intermediate period or Middle Kingdom containing a groin vault.

²⁵Provenance not stated. Height: 19.5 cm. Unpublished.

²⁶Closely resembles the spinning figures in No. 1 above.

²⁷From Sedment, tomb 1525. Tenth dynasty. Height of A: 23.8 cm.; width across shoulders: 5 cm. Height of B (kneeling figure): 11.3 cm.; width across shoulders: 3.75 cm. Base: 23 cm. x 19.5 cm. Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, pl. XVII, 4, text, p. 7.

²⁸From Sakkara, tomb of Usermut (or Usernekhbet), and Anpuemhet. Base: 49 cm. x 31 cm. Quibell-Hayter, *Teti Pyramid, North Side*, pp. 42-43, pl. XXVI, 1.

²⁹Cf. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, II, pl. IV.

³⁰Cf. Clark, *MMA Bull.*, N.S., III, 1944, pp. 24-29.

³¹From Sakkara, tomb of Karenen. 60 cm. x 50 cm. Tenth dynasty. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1906-07), pl. XIII, text, p. 8.

³²Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, fig. 53, p. 79. The flat ceiling of the burial chamber of the Eighteenth dynasty tomb of Sennefer at Thebes is painted with grapes growing on vines, against a white background. The upper side of a hole in the north wall of the tomb of Roy, also at Thebes, is decorated with the same motif.

6. Cairo Museum, tomb of Karenen.³³ Again we find a building with arched beams radiating from central posts to the side walls, and again Quibell is mistaken in designating this as another "vineyard." In this case, five figures are preserved, and the evidence for its being a spinning and weaving scene is conclusive. One figure stands with the left arm and the right leg raised in a typical attitude of spinning; this figure seems to be a man. The four other figures, three of which are unmistakably women, appear to be engaged in weaving.

B. Eleventh dynasty.

1. Cairo Museum, 46723 (Pl. 48b).³⁴ In an open court without any suggestion of an arch, a dozen women are engaged in various phases of spinning and weaving. Three figures seated in a row with their backs against the wall are preparing flax perhaps by beating it on the semi-circular small platforms, one of which is in front of each figure; they then place it in buckets beside each of three standing figures engaged in spinning. Each of the latter holds a distaff in the left hand and turns a spindle in the right. Two other spinning figures whose spindles have become full are stretching the newly spun thread on three pegs stuck into the side wall. Three other figures are busy at weaving on the two looms which lie on the floor, and are kept taut by means of pegs driven into the floor. Most of the figures wear a linen garment; all have a white garment painted on. Likewise, they all have long head-dresses.

C. Twelfth dynasty.

1. Berlin Museum, 20353-59 (Pl. 47a).³⁵ Small model containing one standing woman and four seated figures all wearing long black headdresses and white dresses extending from the shoulders to below the knees; it is not clear what the four seated figures are doing. Directly behind the standing figure is a wall with three pegs stuck into it. Newly spun thread is stretched between the three pegs.
2. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 32.1.125 (Pl. 38a).³⁶ Long narrow room beside granary³⁷ court contains four women engaged in spinning and weaving. Two of them who are seated near one end probably are weaving. A third who stands performs an unrecognizable task. The fourth is seated in one corner perhaps preparing thread for weaving.
3. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 30.7.3 (Pl. 48a).³⁸ This interesting spinning and weaving model containing four female figures does not have any arched cross beams. Fragments of a horizontal loom indicate that the two kneeling women are

engaged in weaving. A nude figure standing on one leg with legs slightly bent is probably engaged in spinning. The fourth, again kneeling, seems to be rolling threads for weaving, from pots having a loop handle inside on the bottom.

4. Liverpool, Institute of Archaeology.³⁹ Model contains three female figures. One stands with left arm outstretched holding spindle; right hand holds distaff. Two seated women are evidently at work at a horizontal loom which is not preserved, but the corner pegs are preserved and the woof threads faintly painted on the base board.

*Type 3. Flax — or papyrus — fibre workers.*⁴⁰ Such figures appear to be preparing raw material for manufacture either into rope or for making mats.

1. Copenhagen, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg.⁴¹ Two male flax-workers standing beside raised platform; one leans forward and is engaged in beating flax or papyrus fibre with club held in right hand. The other is more nearly upright; his hands, which are at sides, are each bored through as if to hold something.
2. Cairo Museum.⁴² At one end two standing men with left foot forward each hold a rod horizontally with both hands before them at about the level of the hips, and lean backwards a little. Near the other end is a peg driven into the base. Both men seem to be twisting rope or something similar. At the opposite end a standing man holding a club in his right hand is beating flax or papyrus fibre on a block of wood. A second beater holds his club with his right hand, resting it on his right shoulder, and carries his block under his left arm. The vertical peg protruding from the top of his head indicates that at one time he carried on his head some sort of burden, but the latter was not found. Near the active beater is an oven with a rounded top on which are placed four small circular containers evidently used for softening or dyeing the fibres.
3. Cairo Museum.⁴³ This model rather closely resembles No. 1 above. Hence Quibell's suggestion that this is a laundry is mistaken. The four figures duplicate the activities performed in the quoted example: two standing men are twisting rope or something similar in the same fashion as before. A second standing man is beating flax or papyrus fibre on a platform before him. And finally, a figure wearing a female headdress carries a beater's board under her left arm and a club in her right hand; she is not carrying clerk's tablets as Quibell states.⁴⁴

V. BARBERING AND HAIRDRESSING.⁴⁵

Type 1. Barbers. Only one example is known, and that is extremely doubtful. The handles of the instruments do not resemble those of the razors shown in the reliefs. On

³³Base: 49 cm. x 37 cm.; height: 13 cm. Tenth dynasty. Quibell, *Excav. at Saq.* (1906-07), pl. XIX, 2, text, pp. 11, 76. Very badly preserved.

³⁴From Deir el Bahari, tomb of Meketre, Winlock, *MMA Bull.*, Dec. 1920, pt. II, fig. 13, pp. 22, 26, 28.

³⁵Provenance not stated. Juhl, *op. cit.*, pl. I, figs. 41-43, text, p. 8-10.

³⁶From Lisht, south pyramid, Mastaba B (Dhuty). Base: 49.5 cm. x 48.5 cm.; height: 9.11 cm. Lansing, *MMA Bull.*, April 1933, pt. II, pp. 18, 20-1, figs. 16, 17.

³⁷See p. 15.

³⁸From neighborhood of Girgeh, Upper Egypt. Length: 59 cm.; width: 35.5 cm.; height: 22 cm. Cf. excellent article on reconstruction of this model by C. R. Clark, "Egyptian Weaving in 2000 B.C.," in *MMA Bull.*, N.S. III, 1944, pp. 24-29.

³⁹From Beni Hasan, tomb 575. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 131, left, p. 133; H. Ling Roth, *Ancient Egyptian and Greek Looms*, fig. 10, p. 11.

⁴⁰Klebs, *RMR*, p. 123, XX, and fig. 89.

⁴¹From Sakkara, tomb of Gemniemhet. Ninth dynasty. Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, p. 53; II, pl. 28, C.

⁴²From Sakkara, tomb of Usermut (or Usernekhbet), and Anpuemhet. Base: 32 cm. x 18 cm. Quibell-Hayter, *Teti Pyramid, North Side*, pl. 25, lower view, text, pp. 41-42.

⁴³From Sakkara, tomb of Karenen. Tenth dynasty. Base: 47 cm. x 20 cm. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1906-1907), pl. XVIII, 2, text, pp. 11, 75. Rather poorly preserved.

⁴⁴There is no known case of a woman carrying clerk's tablets.

⁴⁵Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, p. 41, and fig. 24, *ibid.*, p. 32, V.

the other hand, if the example below is not a barber and his assistant, it is very difficult to suggest an alternative. The man with the case might be a surgeon. But in Ancient, as in Modern Egypt, barbers and surgeons not infrequently exist in the same person. We must look to further discoveries either in relief or in sculpture for a final identification of this type.

1. Sakkara, tomb of Gemniemhet.⁴⁶ Ninth dynasty. Barber and his assistant; Barber carries case containing at least three instruments, fastened to his belt in front hands are at sides. His assistant is in the same pose, with left foot forward, but carries on his head a block. The latter must have been used either as a seat by those who were to be shaved, or as a platform for the barber to stand on if the person to be shaved also remained standing.

Type 2. Hairdressing.

1. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 22.2.35 (Pl. 49a).⁴⁷ Twelfth dynasty. A woman squats on the ground and nurses a child. Second woman sits with both knees raised, on a block directly behind the first and with both hands is arranging the other's headdress.
2. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 15.5.664.⁴⁸ Twelfth dynasty. Woman seated on low stool: the break in the base strongly suggests that there was a second figure. This is very probably another hair-dressing scene. Colors: hair, stool, and base, red; skin, yellow.

⁴⁶Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, p. 53, pl. 28, C.

⁴⁷Provenance unknown. Purchased from Mohammed Mohassib. Limestone. Height: 7.2 cm.; length: 7.5 cm. Winlock, *The Private Life of the Ancient Egyptians*, fig. 7; Gauthier-Laurent, "Les Scènes de Coiffure Féminine dans l'Ancienne Egypte", in *Mélanges Maspero* I, second Fascicule, pp. 673-696, and pl. II, A.

⁴⁸Provenance unknown. Limestone. Very badly preserved. Unpublished.

CHAPTER IV

SERVANTS CARRYING SUPPLIES FOR DECEASED AND FUNERAL SCENES

I. SERVANTS CARRYING SUPPLIES FOR DECEASED.

Type 1. Single figures bearing products of field, desert and marsh, or manufactured objects from the shops of the craftsmen.

A. Predynastic.

1. Negade, tomb 271.¹ Slightly steatopygous ivory figurine without arms, but with pot on head. It was one of four figures placed upright on the east side of the tomb, several centimeters apart. Two other similar examples are known.²
2. Berlin Museum, 13807 (Pl. 49c).³ Clay. Man with beaked head. Apparently carrying something on his right shoulder. Von Bissing⁴ considers this a cowherd. If he is right, the piece would be unique among servant figures until the Eleventh dynasty.⁵ Scharff⁶ places it with carriers, who constitute one of the oldest and most numerous types. The man's right hand, which is raised above the right shoulder grasps what may be either the end of a stick or part of a burden. To me the object in his hand resembles the latter, but there is certainly room for doubt, and Von Bissing may be right.

B. Fifth dynasty limestone figures of men servants carrying supplies.⁷

1. Cairo Museum, 111.⁸ A standing nude male figure has most of the weight on the right leg. The right hand, which is at the side, holds a pair of sandals. Bent at the

¹Petrie-Quibell, *Nagada and Ballas*, pl. LIX, 7. For the other three figures found with it, cf. Petrie, *Preh. Eg.*, pl. XLVI, 1-3. For exact position of figures in tomb, cf. Petrie-Quibell, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXXIII, 271.

²British Museum, No. 53879 (unpublished), and figure illustrated in Petrie, *Preh. Eg.*, pl. II, 6, text, p. 7, left top.

³From Negade. Scharff, *Altertümer*, II, pl. 10, No. 49, text, p. 33; Schäfer, *AZ*, 34, fig. 8, p. 160.

⁴Von Bissing, *Revue Archéologique*, 4. ser., vol. 15, 1910, p. 256, and footnote 5; Von Bissing, *Denkmäler*, text, p. III, on basis of figs. 8 and 9 in *AZ*, 34, p. 34, p. 160. Von Bissing states that such figures are the antecedents of later servant statues.

⁵See p. 10.

⁶Scharff, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁷Cf. Klebs, *RAR*, pp. 140-141, fig. 18, p. 31.

⁸Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 24, text, p. 86-87. Height: 51 cm. According to Mar., *Mast.*, p. 323, from Mastaba D 54 at Sakkara.

elbow, the left arm is so placed that the left hand grasps the upper end of a sack which is supported on the left shoulder. Backing runs up about three-quarters of the height of the figure. Much color remains: hair, brows, eyelids, pupils, pubic hair, "free" space, backing, and base, black; skin, reddish brown; sack, white; sandals, yellow; thongs on sandals, white. The figure is strictly frontal, with the gaze directly ahead.

2. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10627 (Pl. 50a).⁹ A nude dwarf with his legs spread apart carries a sack over his left shoulder. Thus, the left elbow is bent at an acute angle so that the left hand may grasp the upper end of the sack. The right arm is at the side. The shape of the legs and the head, overly large for so small a body, clearly indicate the dwarf. He stands on an almost square base. Certain parts are missing: the left elbow, the tip of the nose, and a chip over the left eye. The ankles were broken, but have been mended.
3. Harvard-Boston Expedition, G 7715, Reg. No. 2-6-934 (Pl. 50b).¹⁰ A very small nude dwarf carries one pot on his left shoulder, another under his left arm, a third in his left hand, and steadies a fourth on the ground with his right hand. In its type this figure is unique in the sculpture of the Old Kingdom. The greater part of the load carried is on the figure's left side. The dwarf leans markedly to the right, i.e., there is a strong curve to the right in the spinal column. Thus due attention is paid to the facts of physics as known from real life, and the figure is definitely not frontal.
4. Harvard-Boston Expedition, G 2088, Reg. No. 38-4-5 (Pl. 50c).¹¹ A man wearing a short tunic carries on his left shoulder a jar and another jar under his left arm. Various parts are missing: the right arm, the right leg, and the left foot. The tunic seems to leave the right shoulder bare. A good deal of color remains about the head.

Type 2. Men servants singly, or in rows of two or more, bring supplies for deceased. All examples are made of wood. The first four come from the Sixth dynasty; the remainder may be assigned to the Twelfth dynasty.

1. Harvard-Boston Expedition, G 2381 Y-G 5561, Reg. No. 26-4-49.¹² A standing male figure carries a jar on his head.
2. Cairo Museum, 241.¹³ Standing male figure carries a pannier on his back suspended over both shoulders, and holds with his left forearm a rectangular box. With his left hand he steadies the pannier by reaching back over his left shoulder. A white band ties the forearm and upper arm together. The colors are in good condition. Hair, brows, eyelids, pupils and base, black; whites of eyes and skirt, white; nails indicated with henna or something akin to it; corners of the eyes, reddish; skin, brown.

⁹Illustrated in Capart, *Memphis*, fig. 217. Height: 21.4 cm.; width: 9.3 cm.; length: 8.3 cm. This belongs to the Nikauanupe group.

¹⁰From Giza. Cairo Museum. Height: 4.7 cm. W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, pl. 28b, text, p. 100.

¹¹From Giza, W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 100, fig. 18 b, p. 91.

¹²From Giza. Height: 24 cm. *Ibid.*, p. 100, fig. 21, p. 93.

¹³Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 51, text, p. 157. Height: 36 cm. From the tomb of Ni'ankh-Pepy-Kem at Meir.

3. Naga-ed-Dêr, N 43: A nude male figure¹⁴ carries a jar on his shoulder.
4. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Pl. 53 b).¹⁵ Male figure wearing short white skirt. A hole in his back, a second in the top of his right shoulder, and a third at his right elbow seem to indicate that he was carrying some sort of burden which was fastened to the body with a wooden peg now lost, and that he may have been carrying a box with his right hand and forearm. The left hand, which is at the side, seems to have held something which is now lacking. The left foot is missing as is the right forearm. The original base is also lost.
5. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1914.73.¹⁶ Striding man with left foot forward holds foreleg of ox in his outstretched hands.
6. Cairo Museum.¹⁷ Striding man with left foot forward carries large vase against left shoulder, supporting it with both hands.
7. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.¹⁸ A short, stocky man, probably a dwarf, steadies his head load with right hand.
8. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 785, 24 and 25.¹⁹ Two men with both hands raised to the shoulders hold by means of a cord a rectangular sack on the back.
9. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 785, 26.²⁰ Striding man with left foot forward once carried head load, as indicated by hole in top of head; one arm raised to steady load.
10. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 785, 3.²¹ Striding man balancing on left shoulder two round vases.
11. London, British Museum, 47640.²² Striding man with left leg forward holding in each hand an egg-shaped jar; feet missing.
12. Cairo Museum, 493.²³ Left arm bent double with left hand at shoulder as though to hold burden which is now missing.
13. Meir.²⁴ Man bearing yoke with two jugs.
14. Meir.²⁵ Eight figures: seven apparently have the arms at the side and carry nothing; the eighth holds a pointed vase in his right hand, and once carried in his left a dish which is now lacking. All the figures wear linen garments.

¹⁴Unpublished.

¹⁵Height: 36 cm. From the Collection J. d'Anastasy. Cf. Boeser, *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums*, Vol. I, *Die Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, Atlas, pl. XXVII, text, p. 20; Wijngaarden, *Meesterwerken der Egyptische Kunst te Leiden*, pl. 16 & 17, text, p. 96.

¹⁶From Beni Hasan, tomb 275 (of Thaay). Formerly in Martyn Kennard Collection. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 95, left, p. 105.

¹⁷From Beni Hasan, tomb 116 (of Nefery). Height: 28 cm. Garstang, *op. cit.*, fig. 61, p. 74, fig. 64, p. 76.

¹⁸From Beni Hasan, tomb 575 (of Khetyi). Garstang, *op. cit.*, fig. 131, second figure from right, p. 133.

¹⁹From Antinoë, cl. B 38. Height: 25 cm. Unpublished.

²⁰From Antinoë. Unpublished. Base: 12 cm. x 7 cm. x 4 cm.; height: 20 cm.

²¹From Antinoë, cl. B38. Unpublished. Base: 24 cm. x 11 cm. x 8 cm.

²²From Deir el Bahari, possibly from tomb of King Mentuhotep. Naville, *Eleventh Dynasty Temple*, III, pl. XIX, middle of plate, second figure from left, text, p. 24.

²³Provenance unknown. Height: 34 cm. Borchardt, *Statuen*, II, pl. 82, text, p. 68.

²⁴Height: 18 cm. Kamal, *Annales*, XI (1911), p. 16.

²⁵Height: 17 cm. Kamal, *Annales*, XI, p. 16.

15. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 4717.²⁶ Left arm bent with hand near shoulder.
16. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 03.1650 (Pl. 51).²⁷ Four men walk in single file. Each carries on his back a full sack, which he holds on with both hands. Although three have skirts and one has a belt painted on, there are fragments of linen skirts also remaining.
17. Cairo Museum, 511-512.²⁸ Two models of rows of three (originally four) figures. The arms are at sides, but the hands may have grasped small objects.

*Type 3. Women servants, singly or in rows of two or more, bring supplies for deceased.*²⁹ These three-dimensional figures are strictly frontal. They usually walk with left foot forward. One hand is raised to steady a head burden, while the other either holds a bird by the wings, or grasps a halter the other end of which is around the neck of a calf. The dress varies from complete nudity to a long garment from the shoulders to above the ankles. They were usually present in pairs, two to a tomb. During the Middle Kingdom the figures of women are much more common than those of men servants as bearers of supplies. Only wooden examples of women servants are known.

A. Predynastic.

1. Berlin Museum, 22701 and 22700 (No. 22701 probably does not belong with 22700, but to one very similar.³⁰) Clay women "porters" posed one behind the other. Base has five holes, two still containing complete figures. Crudely modelled figures. Breasts prominent. Heads hollowed out inside as though to hold something. Faces have nose and sharp chin, but no mouth or ears. Traces of dark color for eyes; upper edge of brow and rear of head painted black; hollow of head also black. One other similar figure is known.³¹ Stylistically the four cattle in clay on a clay stand from grave A 23 at El Amrah are similar.³²

B. Sixth dynasty.

1. Shaft 684. Peasant women carrying baskets on their heads.³³
2. Serdab of Idu II. Peasant women carrying baskets on their heads.³⁴

²⁶Provenance not stated. Given by Capart. Unpublished. Height: 32 cm. (without base).

²⁷From El Bersheh, Purchased. Base: 39 cm. x 13 cm. x 2.2 cm.; height of leading figure: 22.5 cm. (without base). Unpublished.

²⁸From Dahshur. Length of each: 40 cm. Borchardt, *Statuen*, II, pls. 87-88, pp. 76-77.

²⁹Cf. Klebs, *RAR*, p. 140-141.

³⁰Provenance unknown. Cf. Scharff, *Altertümer*, II, pl. 11, Nos. 53 and 54, text, pp. 35-36.

³¹Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, pl. VI, B 109 (S. D. 44), text, p. 33. This is now E 4708 in the collections of University Museum, in Philadelphia.

³²Randall-Mac Iver, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. IX, 1, pp. 16, 36, 41.

³³Discovered by Junker at Giza. Cf. "Vorbericht über die dritte Grabung bei den Pyramiden von Gizeh . . . 1914", in *Anzeiger der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 51. Jahrgang, 1914, No. XIV, pp. 178-9.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 179.

3. Cairo Museum, 250.³⁵ Three women in a row are mounted on a rectangular base; they each carry a basket on the head. The foremost figure steadies her basket with her left hand, while her right arm is at her side; the other two women do just the opposite. The second woman is smaller than the first and the third is smaller than the second. They wear white garments which are held by straps over the right shoulders and reach to below the knees.
4. Dahshur, Mastaba No. 24, from the serdab of the tomb of Sankh-ouaiti.³⁶ A woman carries on her head a basket, which she steadies with her left hand; her right arm is at her side.
5. Myers Collection.³⁷ A walking woman bearing on her head a box which she steadies with her left hand, and holding a duck by its wings with her right. She is preceded by what appears to be a calf. Her feet are bare. She wears a white dress which extends from below the breasts to above the ankles; it is held up by two wide shoulder straps attached in front between the breasts to the upper edge of the dress. Her headdress is covered with a white cloth held in place by a dark band tied around the head above the forehead. The top of the burden on her head is inscribed.³⁸ The base is rectangular. Comparison with the reliefs indicates that this must be a late Old-Kingdom figure, for the dress and headdress type are common.³⁹ In another scene⁴⁰ the dress, the manner of holding the duck, the burden, and the pose are all the same as in the case of this servant figure.
6. Sakkara, mastaba of Rakhuf.⁴¹ Carries four-legged chest on her head; is preceded by calf, apparently once held by a string attached to her left hand. Left arm at side. Wears long dress and headdress falling well below the shoulders in front and back.

C. Intermediate period.

1. Copenhagen, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, A 51.⁴² This woman carries a basketful of conical objects, wine jars or loaves of bread on her head, steadying it with her left hand, and holds a bird by the wings in her right hand. She is preceded by a very small calf. She wears a long white dress with broad straps over the shoulders. Her headdress is covered with a white cloth held by a brown band.

³⁵Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 54, text, p. 161. Height: 59 cm. From the tomb of Ni'ankh-Pepy-Kem at Meir.

³⁶De Morgan, *Fouilles*, II, fig. 47, p. 20, text, p. 18 and 20. Height: 35 cm.

³⁷Burlington Fine Arts Club, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, pl. 24; *Exhibition*, No. 58 on p. 41. Height: 44.7 cm. From Meir. Perhaps from tomb of Hepi-Kem, A 4; cf. Porter-Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, Vol. IV, p. 249.

³⁸Inscription can be read from photograph.

³⁹Cf. Chicago University, *Mereruka*, I, pl. 23, C. Figure at extreme left.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, I, pl. 49, upper register, figure at extreme right.

⁴¹Cf. *Illustrated London News*, June 4, 1938, p. 1001, No. 5.

⁴²Provenance unknown, but perhaps from Meir. Ninth dynasty. Height: 40 cm. Mogensén, *La Coll. Eg.*, pl. XII, text, p. 14. Very well preserved. Dr. Walter Federn has drawn my attention to the striking stylistic similarity of this figure to the Sixth-dynasty example from the Myers Collection (cf. No. 5 above). This suggests that the Copenhagen piece also belonged to the Sixth dynasty, instead of the Ninth, as stated in the Copenhagen Catalogue.

2. Copenhagen, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, A 524 (Pl. 52a).⁴³ Two women with left foot forward carrying on their heads rectangular baskets steadied with the left hand from in front, and in one case holding in the right hand a bird by the wings. The rear figure also held an object in the right hand, but it is now lost.
3. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 11496 (Pl. 52b).⁴⁴ Two women, somewhat unusual in wearing long actual linen garments.
4. Copenhagen, National Museum, 7545 (Pl. 49b).⁴⁵ Two women. The style is so similar to that of No. 3 that they must be contemporary and from the same general region.
5. Philadelphia, University Museum, E 14621 (Pl. 55a).⁴⁶ Two women: they follow the usual formula, with the addition in each case of a small disk-shaped cushion between the headdress and the basket above. The forward girl's basket contains four red wine jars with black sealings. The feet are here indicated. The birds are carried by the wings, but the latter are forward and the birds' bodies are toward the rear.
6. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1921.1660a.⁴⁷ Two women carrying baskets on their heads: in each case the right arm is forward and has been bored at the lower end; each must have carried one of the two birds, which had also been bored, found in the same tomb (p. 41).
7. Sakkara, tomb of Usermut (or Usernekhbet) and Anpuemhet.⁴⁸ This woman is somewhat unusual because she carries a bouquet of flowers in her right hand.
8. Liverpool, Institute of Archaeology.⁴⁹ Wears long white skirt painted and modelled as part of figure; also wears actual linen cloth wrapped around body and over left shoulder. Head load rests directly on small cushion. Weight of load is suggested by pose of neck, shoulders, and general attitude. Better than average modelling.
9. Other examples, provenance and references:
Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum, from Abusir, tomb of Harshefhotep I, in Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, fig. 131, p. 80; Manchester Museum, 6597 A-C, from Sedment, tomb 1525, in Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, pl. XVII, 4; Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 5798, 5, from Sedment, tomb 374 in Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, p. 7; Sakkara, tomb of Usermut (or Usernekhbet) and Anpuemhet, in Quibell-Hayter, *Teti Pyramid, North Side*, p. 43, pl. XXVI.

⁴³From Sakkara, tomb of Gemniemhet. Ninth dynasty. Stood at one end of coffin. Height: 33.5 cm. Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, p. 53, II, pl. 29, B; Mogensen, *op. cit.*, pl. LXVII, text p. 69.

⁴⁴From Sedment, tomb 2105. Ninth dynasty. Height: 23.8 cm. Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, pl. XXVI, 11 (No. 2115), text, p. 10.

⁴⁵Provenance not stated. Height: 28 cm.

⁴⁶From Sedment, tomb 2111 (of Khent-kheti). Tenth dynasty. Base: 19.5 cm. x 4 cm.; height of forward girl (including base and jars in basket): 35 cm. Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, pl. XXVI, 9, text, p. 7.

⁴⁷From Sedment, tomb 2112 (of Mertetes). Ninth dynasty. Height: 26.5 cm.; breadth: 5.5 cm. Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, pl. XXXIX.

⁴⁸Height: 34 cm. Base inscribed. Quibell-Hayter, *op. cit.*, p. 43, pl. XXVI, lower view, third figure from left.

⁴⁹From Beni Hasan, tomb of Ipi (No. 707). Height: 47 cm. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 98, p. 109.

D. Eleventh dynasty.

1. Cleveland Museum of Art, 42.14 (Pl. 54b).⁵⁰ Carries rectangular basket on head, steadied by raised left hand, and holds bird in right hand.
2. Paris, Musée Guimet, Eg. 3070 (Pl. 55b).⁵¹ Lower part of basket on her head is pyramidal, the upper part square.
3. London, British Museum, 30716 (Pl. 53a).⁵² Standing woman carrying wide basket of food on her head. Her long white dress is supported by a single strap over left shoulder. A fairly elaborate necklace is painted on. Something was held in the right hand, which hangs near the side. The uppermost layer of objects in the basket appears to consist of loaves of some kind.
4. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 05.231 (Pl. 56a).⁵³ This figure begins to have a style much more typical of the Middle Kingdom. She wears a long green dress supported by a strap over each shoulder. The basket on her head and whatever she held in her right hand are now missing. Headdress is rather short. Colors: bracelets, anklets, dress, shoulder straps, and headdress (sic!), green; edges of eyes, irises, and brows, black; sclerotic, white.
5. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 04.1774 (Pl. 54a).⁵⁴ Wears long white dress extending from just above waist almost to ankles, and supported by strap running around the neck and down again to the upper edge of the dress. Her right hand holds not one but *two* ducks. Her headdress is held in place by a bright ribbon. Colors: skin, base, under side of birds, and background of basket, yellow; tips of bird's wings and bills, nipples, outlines of facial features, headdress, and lines on basket, black.
6. Bristol, Museum and Art Gallery, H 550.⁵⁵ Two conventional figures.
7. Asyüt, tomb of Nakhti.⁵⁶ This was the largest female offering bearer found by Chassinat in the cemetery at Asyüt.
8. Asyüt, tomb of Nakhti.⁵⁷ Nude above the waist: wears long white skirt ornamented with a red and blue square mesh design; the skirt is hung from a red and blue belt around the waist. The headdress, which is long only in back, is kept in place by a white band around the head. Anklets and bracelets, also red and blue, are worn.
9. Asyüt, tomb of Nakhti.⁵⁸ This figure wears a long white dress held up by a strap over the left shoulder; the lower portion of the dress is decorated with a design inspired by the plumage of birds. The usual bracelets and anklets are worn.

⁵⁰Purchased in Asyüt; probably from Meir. Base 10.2 cm. x 7.3 cm.; height: 26 cm. Cf. Cleveland Museum of Art, *Inaugural Catalogue*, p. 340 of Illustrated Edition, text, p. 206, no. 23.

⁵¹Provenance unknown. Early Middle Kingdom. Height: 47.5 cm.

⁵²Provenance not stated. British Museum, *Guide to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms*, p. 24.

⁵³From Deir el Bahari, tomb No. 5. Found with boat, granary, bakery, and group of soldiers. Height: 84 cm. Naville, *Eleventh Dynasty Temple*, I, pl. IX, text, p. 46.

⁵⁴From Asyüt, tomb No. 6, excavations of Chassinat. Height: 56 cm. *MFA Bull.*, April, 1905, p. 14, fig.; Chassinat, *Fouilles d'Assiout*, pp. 5-6.

⁵⁵Provenance unknown. Said to be similar in style to figures in Ranke, *Art of Ancient Egypt*, fig. 77. Height: 25.4 cm.

⁵⁶Found in front of Ka-figure of Nakhti. Height: 77 cm. Chassinat, *Fouilles d'Assiout*, p. 33.

⁵⁷Height: 60 cm. Chassinat, *op. cit.*, pl. IX, and p. 33; Capart, *L'Art Égyptien*, pl. 42, right-hand figure.

⁵⁸Height: 60 cm. Chassinat, *op. cit.*, pl. X, and p. 33-34; Capart, *op. cit.*, pl. 42, left hand figure.

10. Paris, Louvre, E 11992 (Pl. 57, right-hand-most figure).⁵⁹ Nude above waist; wears long, close-fitting white skirt and long white necklace.
11. Paris, Louvre, E 11990 (Pl. 57).⁶⁰ Wears long, white skirt supported by two straps, one over each shoulder.
12. Paris, Louvre, E 11991 (Pl. 57).⁶¹ Wears long, white dress supported by a single strap over left shoulder.
13. Paris, Louvre, E 12001 (Pl. 57).⁶² Similar to No. 12.
14. Paris, Louvre, E 12029 (Pl. 59a).⁶³ Wears long, white dress supported by single strap over left shoulder, with addition of a short, square-mesh skirt supported by a belt around the waist.
15. Cairo Museum, 46725 (Pl. 58b, left).⁶⁴ This is one of the finest of this type of servant statue. With her left hand the woman steadies on her head a rectangular basket containing sealed wine jars. Her right hand, which is at her side, grasps a live duck by the wings. Her tight-fitting dress, ornamented with a simple series of horizontal zig-zag lines is supported by two broad straps, one over each shoulder. She wears wristlets and anklets, as well as a large necklace which is more like a collar.
16. New York Metropolitan Museum, 20.3.7 (Pl. 58b, right).⁶⁵ Similar to No. 15, except that the woman carries a basket of meats and bread, and has a design on her dress somewhat resembling feathers. The colors of the individual feathers are both light and dark blue, rust red, yellow, green, and white.
17. Paris, Louvre, E 610 (Pl. 59b, 60).⁶⁶ This figure is considerably later in time than those from the tomb of Nakhti. Its delicacy of modelling puts it roughly contemporary to Nos. 15 and 16. But it differs in one detail from them: the right hand holds a libation vase instead of the usual bird. On top of the basket, balanced on the head by the raised left arm, lies a model quarter of beef. The modelling is extremely subtle.
18. Liverpool Institute of Archaeology.⁶⁷ This woman holds two birds in her right hand and balances a bundle on her head.

⁵⁹From Asyût, tomb of Nakhti (No. 7). Height: 55 cm. Chassinat, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁶⁰From Asyût, tomb of Wepwautemhet (No. 14). Height: 63 cm. Chassinat, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXV, 1, and p. 164.

⁶¹From Asyût, excavations of Chassinat. Height: 64 cm.

⁶²From Asyût, excavations of Chassinat. Height: 48 cm.

⁶³From Asyût, tomb of Nakhti (No. 7). Height: 65 cm. Chassinat, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, and fig. 2, pp. 30-31; Boreux, *Guide*, I, pl. XXII, facing p. 181, and p. 177; *Encyclopédie Photographique de l'Art*, I, p. 51.

⁶⁴From Deir el Bahari, tomb of Meketre. Height: 122 cm. Winlock, *MMA Bull.*, Dec., 1920, pt. II, fig. 9, left hand figure, p. 19.

⁶⁵From Deir el Bahari, tomb of Meketre. Height: 112 cm. Winlock, *MMA Bull.*, *loc. cit.*, right-hand figure.

⁶⁶From Asyût. Height: 104 cm. Boreux, *Guide*, II, pl. LX, right, facing p. 449, and p. 446; *Encyclopédie Photographique de l'Art*, I, pp. 48-49.

⁶⁷From Beni Hasan, tomb of Antef (No. 1). Height: 48.3 cm. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 47, p. 61.

E. Twelfth dynasty.

1. Berlin Museum, 22.⁶⁸ Wears simple white skirt with two straps, one over each shoulder. Figure is nude above waist. A black string is around the neck, with a round white object in front. Right hand holds dark-colored vase with a cover, and the right elbow is bent. Balanced on the woman's head by the raised left arm is a box topped by a joint of meat. Three sides of the box are inscribed.
2. Berlin Museum, 13 (Pl. 61b).⁶⁹ Wears a long colored skirt reaching to above ankles, supported by two straps, one over each shoulder; its design is made up of alternate rows of blue, green, red scale-shaped pieces sewed on. On her feet are white sandals. Her bracelets and anklets are decorated with rectangular green and blue design. A colored band at about the level of the ears holds together the headdress, which falls well below the shoulders in front and in back. The right hand holds a tall, slim jar with a cover, while the left hand is raised to steady the head load. A mirror case complete with mirror, the handle of which protrudes vertically from the case, hangs from the left shoulder. The top of the basket or box has painted on it the following: an ox leg, calf's head, two pieces of red meat, variously formed loaves of bread, bunch of blue grapes, a green cucumber, a melon, and another small fruit. Three sides of the box are inscribed.
3. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 785.33.⁷⁰ Somewhat unusual in having both arms raised to balance a basket on the head.
4. Toronto, Royal Museum of Archaeology.⁷¹ Three market girls walking one behind the other: all wear white skirts with a design of black dots, and carry the usual baskets on their heads.
5. Cairo Museum.⁷² Modelling around mouth suggests a strained expression caused by weight of head load. Figure was originally wrapped in linen garment.
6. Cairo Museum.⁷³ Linen cloth around waist and hips; holds two birds in right hand.
7. Manchester Museum, 4734.⁷⁴ Figure balances basket on head with right hand; basket is somewhat more flaring than usual. Left hand holds vase. Body covered with piece of linen from left shoulder to right hip. Skirt has same yellow color as skin. Base inscribed.

⁶⁸From Deir el Bahari, tomb of Mentuhotp. Base: 32 cm. x 10 cm. x 6 cm.; height: 60 cm. Steindorff, *Grabfunde*, I, pl. XI, 2, text, pp. 40-41.

⁶⁹From Deir el Bahari, tomb of Mentuhotp. Base: 34 cm. x 13 cm. x 7 cm.; height 77 cm. Position in tomb: between bow of rowing boat and stern of sail boat. Steindorff, *Grabfunde*, I, p. 40, and pl. XI, 1, 3, 4, and 5. Jéquier, *Frises d'Objets*, p. 135, and fig. 365. Berlin, *Ausf. Verz.*, pp. 98-100, fig. 19; *Aeg. u. Vorderas. Altert.*, pl. 14.

⁷⁰From Antinoë, cl. B 41. Height (without base): 43.5 cm. Unpublished.

⁷¹From Deir el Bahari. Base: 45.8 cm. x 11 cm. x 1.2 cm.; height to top of head of front girl (from top of base): 31.3 cm. Unpublished.

⁷²From Beni Hasan, tomb of Nefery (No. 116). Height: 48 cm. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 61, p. 74, fig. 64, p. 76.

⁷³From Beni Hasan, tomb of Thau (No. 186). Height: 48 cm. Found on eastern side of coffin in narrow space against wall. Garstang, *op. cit.*, fig. 77, left, p. 87.

⁷⁴From Rifa, tomb of Nekhtankh. Base: 16.8 cm. x 5.4 cm.; height: 34.7 cm. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. X, E, left-hand figure, text, p. 12; Murray, *Tomb of Two Brothers*, pp. 16-17, pl. 21, 5.

8. Limoges. Musée Municipal de l'Evêché.⁷⁵ Wears short white dress; right arm at side, holding nothing.
9. Berlin Museum, 13743 (Pl. 58a).⁷⁶ Nude; right arm at side, holding nothing. Wears bracelets and sandals. Long headdress comes well below shoulders both in front and in back.
10. Other examples, provenance and references:
Cairo Museum, from Beni Hasan, tomb of Thau (No. 186), in Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 77, right, p. 87; Cairo Museum, from Beni Hasan, tomb of Khnem-nekhti and Neter-nekhti (No. 585), in Garstang, *op. cit.*, fig. 85, p. 95; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, from Beni Hasan, tomb of Khetyi (No. 575), *Ibid.*, fig. 131, right, p. 133; Manchester Museum, 4738, from Rifa, tomb of Nekht'ankh, in Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. X, E; Berlin Museum, 13742, from Gebelein, tomb of Henuy, in Steindorff, *Grabfunde*, II, fig. (left), p. 28, text, p. 27.

F. Middle Kingdom.

1. El Bersheh, tomb of Neheri.⁷⁷ Left hand raised to steady head load; right arm at side.
2. Meir.⁷⁸ Left hand holds bird; other hand, which is at side, empty. White garment reaches to knees.
3. Meir, tomb of Re-hetepi and Kayet.⁷⁹ Carries vase on head, and holds another vase in left hand, goose in right.
4. Cairo Museum, 498.⁸⁰ Left foot forward. Carries large vase in right hand; right arm bent. Left hand supports basket on head. Short headdress.
5. Berlin Museum, 9536 (Pl. 56b).⁸¹ Right arm at side; right hand held something. Left hand slightly in front and is open. The figure wears long colored dress, elaborate collar, and long heavy headdress.
6. Other examples, provenance and references:
Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E. 7104, formerly in Scheurleer Collection; Cairo Museum, 509-10, from Dahshur, in Borchardt, *Statuen*, II, pl. 87 and pp. 75-76; Cairo Museum, 496-7, in *Ibid.*, pl. 84 and pp. 69-70; Cairo Museum, 495, from Luxor, *loc. cit.*

Type 4. Processions of men and women servants bringing supplies. All models of wood.

1. Cairo Museum.⁸² Tenth dynasty. There are two rows of figures: nine women in one, and ten men in the other.⁸³ The women, all of whom wear long, white dresses from the shoulders to above the ankles, are about one-third again as large as the men. They themselves vary somewhat in stature. Their offerings include: a sealed

⁷⁵From Meir, excavations of M. and Madame Périchon-Bey. Height: 32 cm. Delpech-Laborie, *Guide-Catalogue Sommaire*, p. 27, pl. II, No. 10.

⁷⁶From Gebelein, tomb of Henuy. Height: 41 cm. Steindorff, *Grabfunde*, II, fig. (right), p. 28, text, p. 27.

⁷⁷Height: 19 cm. Kamal, *Annales*, II (1901), p. 42.

⁷⁸Height: 33 cm. Kamal, *Annales*, XI (1911), p. 16.

⁷⁹Height: 40 cm. Kamal, *Annales*, XII (1912), p. 99.

⁸⁰From Upper Egypt. Height: 61 cm. Borchardt, *Statuen*, II, pl. 84, text, pp. 70-71.

⁸¹Provenance not stated. Height: 44 cm. Berlin, *Ausf. Verzeichnis*, 1899, p. 105.

⁸²From Sakkara, tomb of Karenen. Length: 165 cm. Quibell, *Excav. at Saq.* (1906-1907), pl. XV, text, p. 8.

⁸³There were originally ten women.

beer jug, a rectangular basket full of sealed jars, a circular basket full of the same, a boat-shaped basket full of cylindrical objects, a rectangular basket with a joint of meat on top, and four other baskets whose contents cannot be identified. The men wear only short white skirts. They bring a basket containing a large pyramidal object, a bowl of charcoal and a fan, a headrest, a chest of clothing (carried by two men on their shoulders), and other unidentifiable objects.

2. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 20.3.8 (Pl. 62b).⁸⁴ Eleventh dynasty. These four figures are led by a priest who carries censer and a libation vase. Behind him walks a man carrying a pile of linen sheets. He is followed by two conventional figures of women holding ducks in their hands and carrying baskets on their heads; of these, the foremost one has jars and bread loaves in her basket while the other holds cakes.
3. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 21.326 (Pl. 63).⁸⁵ Twelfth dynasty. A procession of three women led by a priest. He holds a long slim jar against left shoulder, grasping lower end with left hand; right hand at side, holds a mirror case; he wears a long white skirt which is triangular in front; nude to waist; his hair is as though shaved. The foremost woman carries basket on her head covered with a tray. Next woman carries a basket on her head containing five jars; she and the woman ahead of her both hold a bird in the right hand. The last of the three female figures has lost her burden, which from the position of her hands at shoulder level may well have been a calf or a lamb. First woman has medium length headdress, second woman rather short headdress, and third woman long headdress.

Type 5. Goddess bringing supplies for deceased. Middle Kingdom. Wood.

1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Pl. 61a).⁸⁶ This may be the goddess *sh.t nb.t hb*, if the three reed leaves in her hair are being properly interpreted.⁸⁷ As goddess of fishing and bird hunting, it is not surprising to find her holding a bird by the wings in her right hand; the left hand obviously held something, either another bird or a fish. In any case she is here represented in the attitude of an offering bearer, and wears a long white skirt.

II. FUNERAL SCENES.

Type 1. Figures of mourning women. During the Middle Kingdom figures of mourning women appear in the wall scenes of only two tombs.⁸⁸ Figures in the round are equally rare, and unfortunately, the precise provenance is not recorded for a single known example. The first two examples below are assigned to the Eleventh dynasty; the last two to the general classification of Middle Kingdom.

⁸⁴From Deir el Bahari, tomb of Meketre. Winlock, *MMA Bull.*, Dec., 1920, pt. II, p. 26 (not illust.).

⁸⁵From El Bersheh, tomb of Dehuti-nekht, pit 10A. Length: 66.5 cm. Dunham, *MFA Bull.*, Aug., 1921, pp. 45-46; Febr., 1941, p. 10, figures on p. 9. Technique much finer than No. 2 above.

⁸⁶Provenance unknown. Formerly in Von Bissing Collection. Height: 32 cm. Wijngaarden, *Meest. der Eg. Kunst te Leiden*, pl. 33, text, pp. 100-101. Cf. *Jaarbericht-Ex Oriente Lux*, II, (1943), pl. XXVII, text, p. 759.

⁸⁷Cf. Montet, *Les Scènes de la Vie Privée*, pp. 6-7; Balcz, "Zu den Szenen der Jagdfahrten im Papyrusdickicht", in *AZ* 75 (1939), pp. 32-38, especially p. 36, last line.

⁸⁸Cf. Werbrouck, *Les Pleureuses dans l'Egypte Ancienne*, p. 41 (tomb of Antefoker), p. 67 (tomb of Djar), and pl. II. Klebs (*RMR*, p. 179, VIII) is therefore technically mistaken in asserting that mourners are not depicted during the Middle Kingdom.

1. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 7038.⁸⁹ This figure is in the shape of a hollow bell; the arms are formless stumps.
2. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 7119.⁹⁰ Four mourning women: 1. Left hand placed on temple; upper portion of body nude. 2. Both hands on breasts; wears garment. 3. Both hands on cheeks; upper portion of body nude. 4. Body leans forward; wears garment. Colors: in each case the torso and face are red, hair and eyes, black.
3. Berlin Museum, 9695 (Pl. 62a).⁹¹ This very unusual mourning woman kneels with her right hand grasping the back of her head, and her left hand against her cheek. Her garment is represented by paint; there is even a suggestion of folds indicated by lines. The face likewise is painted and has considerable vitality.
4. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 3207.⁹² Vase in the form of a mourning figure: hands placed on the eyes.

Type 2. Funeral barks bearing mummy of deceased or the deceased formally enthroned: Usually papyrus type. Early in the Twelfth dynasty it became customary to place craft of this type in tombs.⁹³ Such boats were sometimes not equipped for rowing or for sailing, and hence must have been towed.⁹⁴ They seem always to have a double rudder and a canopy amidships under which either the deceased sits or his mummy rests.

1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 21.829 (Pl. 64a).⁹⁵ Funerary bark containing eight figures: steersman kneels between two rudderposts; mummy of deceased is missing from platform under canopy. Six rowers hold oars; conventional lookout at bow.
2. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 32.1.124.⁹⁶ Funerary bark containing sixteen figures: mummy of deceased lies under canopy on bier; Isis stands at his feet, Nephthys at head; a priest standing at left of mummy reads from papyrus roll and addresses deceased as "Osiris"; remaining figures perform usual tasks of Egyptian sailors; four men stand near mast; the lookout and steersman are in usual position; the four kneeling, cloaked figures in front of mast may be four genii.

⁸⁹From Thebes. Formerly in Von Bissing Collection, Museum Scheurleer. Baked clay. Height: 14.7 cm. Von Bissing, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, VII, 1931-1932, p. 157, Pl. VII, No. 3.

⁹⁰From Asyût. Excavations of Saijid Bascha Chaschaba. Formerly in Von Bissing Collection, Museum Scheurleer, cl. A. 12633. Baked clay. Height: 27 cm., 26 cm., 25 cm., and 23 cm. M. Werbrouck, *Les Pleureuses dans l'Égypte Ancienne*, pl. 1, p. 97; Von Bissing, *loc. cit.*, p. 157, Pl. VII, No. 1, 2.

⁹¹Provenance not stated. Unbaked clay. Height: 19 cm. Berlin, *Ausf. Verzeichnis* (1899), p. 106; Fechheimer, *Kleinplastik*, pl. 27.

⁹²From Denderah. Baked clay. Height: 26.5 cm.; thickness: 13 cm. Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. XXI, base, second figure from left, and p. 27. Another figure of the same type, from Arab el-Burg, height: 24.5 cm., was formerly in the Von Bissing Collection. Cf. Von Bissing, *loc. cit.*, p. 157, Pl. VII, No. 4.

⁹³Cf. Winlock, *MMA Bull.*, Dec., 1920, pt. II, p. 28.

⁹⁴Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, pp. 57-59.

⁹⁵From El Bersheh, tomb of Dehuti-nekht, pit 10 A. Length: 70.5 cm. Unpublished.

⁹⁶From Lisht, south pyramid, mastaba B (Dhuty), enclosure between mastaba and south enclosure wall. Length: 80 cm.; width: 23 cm.; height to top of mast: 54 cm. Lansing, *MMA Bull.*, April, 1933, pt. II, pp. 19-21, fig. 17.

3. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.⁹⁷ Funeral bark with wooden (not papyrus!) type hull, with nine figures: usual lookout in bow, with left arm outstretched; three standing sailors raising a yard; mummy⁹⁸ of deceased lies beneath canopy with head toward bow; four heavily cloaked figures are seated, one near his head on either side, and again one on either side toward his feet; they may be four protective genii (similar to those in No. 2 above); steersman at stern holds tiller attached to single steering oar.
4. Cairo Museum.⁹⁹ Funeral bark with same type of hull as 3 above, containing thirteen figures: ten oarsmen, lookout, steersman, and mummy under canopy. Two large vessels are on deck between rowers.
5. Berlin Museum, 13756.¹⁰⁰ Papyrus funeral bark with upturned stern and nine figures: steersman; two men just ahead of rudderposts; four oarsmen ahead of canopy; lookout in bow facing the wrong direction. Coffin of deceased under canopy. All the figures squat in the same fashion.
6. Berlin Museum, 14 (Pl. 64b).¹⁰¹ Elaborate papyrus type funeral bark containing ten figures: steersman seated between the two steering oars; he is inscribed with his name. Mummy of deceased lying on couch with bovine legs, under canopy supported by six slim columns; Isis stands with hands touching feet of mummy, Nephthys at head with hands on his shoulders. Both goddesses have yellow skin, the usual female headdress, and white garments with straps over the shoulders. Isis' hair falls down in back while that of Nephthys hangs forward over her face. Each is inscribed with her name. At each of the four corners of the couch squats a figure in white garments leaving only the heads and feet bare; these may be genii. Lookout, with right arm raised, stands at extreme bow; his long skirt bears his name. Behind him, and also standing is a priest with shaven head, a knife in his right hand, beside a slaughtered calf. His left arm hangs at side; he wears long white skirt. The animal's tongue hangs out; its feet are tied together, and left side of neck is cut with knife. The priest's name is inscribed on his skirt. Behind the priest stands a reader, also in a long white skirt, which is held up by a band passing obliquely over left shoulder. Both arms, extended horizontally forward, hold an open book. His skirt bears his name and lector-priest title.
7. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 12.183.3.¹⁰² Wooden type. Funeral bark with seven figures: Nephthys and Isis (both inscribed) stand at head and foot, respectively, of mummy. A priest stands on either side of Isis (both inscribed), each dressed in leopard-skin garment; priest on port side holds in left hand a censer, the other holds a scroll of papyrus inscribed to scale. Steersman and lookout are at usual posts. There is only a single rudder and no mast. Boat was evidently towed.

⁹⁷From Beni Hasan, tomb of Ma (No. 500). Length: 73 cm. Garstang, *op. cit.*, fig. 91, p. 102.

⁹⁸In all the 888 graves investigated by Garstang at Beni Hasan no real mummy was found.

⁹⁹From Beni Hasan, tomb of Ma (No. 500). Length: 83 cm. Garstang, *op. cit.*, fig. 91, p. 102.

¹⁰⁰From Gebelein, tomb of Henuy. Length: 100 cm. Steindorff, *Grabfunde*, II, pp. 26-27, fig. on p. 27.

¹⁰¹From Deir el Bahari, tomb of Mentuhotp. Length: 87 cm. Width: 17 cm. Steindorff, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 37-39, pl. IX, X.

¹⁰²From Meir, tomb of Ukh-hotp. Length: 115 cm.; height: 46.5 cm.; width: 19 cm. Unpublished.

8. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 12.183.4.¹⁰⁸ Papyrus type funeral bark with five figures: very small steersman at usual position; four statuettes of the deceased, Ukh-hotp, as a funerary statuette, as a mummy, as a *ka*, and as a seated statue.
9. London, British Museum, 9524 (Pl. 65a).¹⁰⁴ Papyrus type funeral bark with severely turned back prows, and four figures: steersman at usual post between two steering oars; mummy of deceased on couch below canopy, with head toward bow; Isis stands at foot, Nephthys at head. Each of the two rudderposts is terminated with the head of a falcon. In the bow is a table on which rest two sealed jars.
10. London, British Museum, 9525 (Pl. 66a).¹⁰⁵ Papyrus type funeral bark with five figures: the steersman in usual position between double rudders; mummy of deceased under canopy, with head toward bow; Isis and Nephthys in usual positions; small figure on port side of mummy stands holding small white object and faces toward head of mummy. Other articles on deck: two sealed jars and a circular pedestal. Rudder posts again end in falcon heads.
11. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1906.638 (Pl. 65b).¹⁰⁶ Papyrus type funeral bark containing four figures: steersman standing at stern; two men standing in bow face starboard side; seated figure under canopy seems to be wearing a mask perhaps in the image of Thoth. Mast is in position astern of canopy. Somewhat conical object stands beside mast. Two oars are on deck.
12. Cairo Museum, 4948.¹⁰⁷ Papyrus type funeral bark containing eleven figures: pilot in usual position at bow holding plummet in his hand; squatting man heavily cloaked, who may be a priest or son of the deceased; mummy lies on funerary couch under canopy; a priest at right of deceased swings a censer; six sailors behind the mast are engaged in raising a sail; steersman crouches in usual place at stern.
13. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1906.635.¹⁰⁸ Papyrus (?) type funeral bark, containing five figures: steersman with single steering oar at stern; lookout kneels at bow; deceased, wearing animal's-head mask, sits below canopy; man stands beside mast behind canopy; figure kneels directly in front of canopy. Both bow and stern are turned up vertically and are rather formless.
14. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1906.636.¹⁰⁸ Papyrus type funeral (?) bark, containing four figures: steersman with single steering oar; lookout (?) in bow; owner seated amidships, figure facing forward ahead of deceased. Bow and stern are alike, with the usual papyrus umbels.
15. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1906.637.¹⁰⁸ Papyrus type funeral (?) bark, containing six figures: five standing; owner (?) seated amidships.

¹⁰⁸From Meir, tomb of Ukh-hotp. Length: 124 cm.; height: 71.5 cm.; width: 56 cm. Unpublished.

¹⁰⁴Provenance not stated. British Museum, *Guide to Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms*, p. 117, No. 61.

¹⁰⁵Provenance not stated. British Museum, *op. cit.*, p. 117, No. 62, and fig.

¹⁰⁶Provenance not stated. Ranke, *Art of Ancient Egypt*, fig. 91, Very crude.

¹⁰⁷From El Bersheh, tomb of Sepi III. Length: 80 cm. Daressy, *Annales*, I, pp. 36-37, fig. 1, p. 36; Reisner, *Models of Ships and Boats*, pl. XXII, text, pp. 100-101.

¹⁰⁸Provenance not stated. Unpublished. No measurements available. Probably Twelfth dynasty.

16. Copenhagen, National Museum, 5489.¹⁰⁹ Wooden type funeral bark being rowed upstream, containing thirteen figures: steersman and lookout missing; amidships lies black coffin of deceased; two figures squat, one at the head (probably Nephthys), other at the foot (probably Isis) of the coffin; on port side stands a man beside coffin, facing to starboard; ten standing rowers, four ahead of coffin, and six behind.

¹⁰⁹From El Bersheh. Purchased from Casira, Cairo. Length: 173 cm. Unpublished.

SERVANTS PROVIDING TRANSPORTATION

I. LAND TRANSPORTATION.

Type 1. Man driving a loaded ox. No limestone examples are known.

1. Cairo Museum, 254.¹ Sixth dynasty. An ox stands near the forward end of a rectangular base, driven by a man behind. Of the man, only the feet are preserved. The ox carries a burden in two sacks, one on each side. The animal is spotted with black on a white coat. Horns and ears of the ox are also lacking.

*Type 2. Men driving loaded donkeys.*²

1. Meir, tomb of Kay-Henent.³ Middle Kingdom. Two donkeys, each carrying a full sack of grain: the first is driven by a bearded man holding a stick in his right hand; the second by a child holding a stick in each hand. The donkeys seem to be of the type most common in the Sudan; they are strong, have short ears, a gray coat, and carry a brand of some sort on the shoulder.
2. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 11.150.28.⁴ Two loaded donkeys, each with driver: the animals are very stiff, all the legs being straight sticks. The base and the donkeys have been painted yellow in modern times. The men's arms have been glued on in recent times, and yellow has been added over the glue.
3. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 11.150.8.⁵ Very similar to No. 2 above. The two drivers are bearded, and stand at rear of each donkey.
4. Toronto, Royal Museum of Archaeology.⁶ Very similar to previous examples.
5. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 7066;⁷ formerly in Von Bissing Collection. A group of eight tiny ivories representing a donkey driver and his flock, of remarkable workmanship despite severe mutilations.

¹Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 55, text, p. 163. Length: 48.5 cm. From the tomb of Ni'ankh-Pepy-Kem at Meir.

²Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, p. 72, V.

³Kamal, *Annales*, XI (1911), p. 23.

⁴Twelfth dynasty. From Meir. Purchased. Base: 39.4 cm. x 16.5 cm. Unpublished.

⁵Twelfth dynasty. From Meir. Purchased. Base: 50.5 cm. x 17.5 cm. Unpublished.

⁶Twelfth dynasty. Purchased from Casira. Said to be from Meir. Base: 39 cm. x 18.3 cm. x 2.3 cm.; height of front figure: 22.3 cm.; height of rear figure: 32.5 cm.; height of donkeys (without loads): 17.5 cm. — Another similar example: Cairo Museum, Guide 3213. — Wreszinski, *Atlas*, pl. 61.

⁷Predynastic. E. Bille-De Mot, "Ivoires Prédynastiques Egyptiens," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 3. sér., ann. 15, 1943, pp. 86-91, fig. 29-38. Unfortunately this publication has reached this country too late to give a full account of the group.

Type 3. Porters carrying empty sedan chair. Wheeled vehicles were unknown in Egypt until the New Kingdom. Most persons walked. The privileged few were occasionally represented as being carried about in sedan chairs.

1. Manchester Museum, 6596 A-E.⁸ Two male figures carry empty sedan chair suspended by two ropes from a crossbar supported on left shoulder of each porter. At right of chair stands a third man holding a fan. All three men wear white skirts, and the legs are not carved free.⁹

Type 4. Horse and rider. In wall scenes representations of men on horseback are extremely rare.¹⁰ In each case, a man is depicted on a galloping horse, riding without stirrups or saddle. His knees are high and are sharply bent. The hands do not grasp reins. There is nothing about the man to indicate that he was aristocratic or a person of importance. Where royalty appears with horses, it is always riding in a chariot. Hence it is reasonable to admit the probability that a figure on horseback may be a servant of some kind, perhaps a groom or a messenger.

1. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 15.2.3 (Pl. 67b).¹¹ A man with a rather large wig, riding bareback on a black and white mare. This piece is among the earliest in Egyptian art depicting this subject. In free sculpture it is absolutely unique. The horse is apparently walking or trotting, and has curious markings: mainly black except for a few irregular white lines; its long tail is both black and white. The rider controls his steed with short reins held in each hand. His feet are well forward, and the knees are slightly bent. The only garment worn is a short white skirt.

II. EARLY TRANSPORTATION BY WATER.

Type 1. Men in clay boats. Predynastic.

1. Berlin Museum, 13834 a-c.¹² Three figures from a clay boat (Pl. 70a). Legs not differentiated. Feet hardly present. Arms free from body. Hands indicated by flattening the cylindrical section of the lower arm. Attitude perhaps that of rowing. Large phalli. Heads with receding brows and high rear portion. Large ears and nose. Wide flat chin with sharp edge. Wide mouth made with engraved line. Cuneiform eyes.

Type 2. Old-Kingdom model boats and crews. Wood. The origins of the numerous model boats from Middle-Kingdom tombs go back into the Old Kingdom. In the rock-cut

⁸From Sedment, tomb 1525. Tenth dynasty. Base: 23.5 cm. x 8.45 cm.; average height of figures: 23.7 cm. Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, pl. XVII, 4, text, p. 7.

⁹A single male figure in the Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, probably belonged to a similar scene. Cf. Pl. 67a. Height including base: 40.5 cm. The piece comes from the Lady Meux collection and is listed and reproduced in the E.A.W. Budge catalogue of this collection (1896), pl. 18, p. 149, No. 65. According to Budge, the provenance was Gizeh. The Lady Meux collection was formed in 1882 and 1895-96.

¹⁰Cf. Wolf, *Bewaffnung*, p. 89, note 2.

¹¹From Gebel Sohag. Purchased from Tano, Cairo. Seventeenth or early Eighteenth dynasty. Length: 30 cm. Winlock, *MMA Bull.*, vol. 11 (1916), p. 85, text, p. 86.

¹²From Negade. Scharff, *Altortümer*, II, pl. 12, Nos. 56-58, text, pp. 36-37. Height: 16 cm., 15.5 cm., and 17.5 cm., respectively. Boat: pl. 14, No. 64, text, p. 42, No. 13834. Length: 55 cm.

serdab of the Fifth-dynasty tomb of Iteti, Mastaba D 63, at Sakkara, Mariette¹³ discovered, among other things, several wooden boats with their necessary equipment. He states that these could not be saved.

In the Sixth dynasty there is a little more evidence. De Morgan found a rower from a boat in Mastaba 24 at Dahshur.¹⁴ In the tomb of Kar¹⁵ at Giza, G 7101 K, the Harvard-Boston Expedition found some small wooden figures which probably belonged to a boat or boats. Among the figures found in tomb G 2357 X, a seated wooden figure without legs resembles a rower from boat models.¹⁶ In the serdab of the tomb of Idu II, which is early Sixth dynasty, Junker discovered in 1914 two wooden boats each with a crew and a cabin.¹⁷ Mastaba M VIII at Sakkara, dating from the time of Pepi II, had in the main chamber a model boat with wooden figures.¹⁸ The largest known group of Sixth-dynasty model boats containing human figures was found in the tomb of Ni'ankh-Pepy-Kem at Meir, dating from the time of Pepi I.¹⁹

The figures with which we are concerned fall into three main groups: helmsmen, sailors, and lookouts. There is naturally more variation in pose among the sailors than with the others. Typical Sixth-dynasty examples of each are as follows:

A. Helmsmen:

1. Cairo Museum, 4880.²⁰ The helmsman squats in the high stern of the boat, and is between the upper ends of the two steering oars. The steering levers of the starboard and port oars are in the right and left hands, respectively. The man looks straight ahead, toward the lookout.

B. Sailors: they are represented in a number of poses.

1. Cairo Museum, 4880.²¹ The sailors squat in pairs facing the bow, one on the starboard, the other on the port side. Their knees are drawn up high.
2. Cairo Museum, 4952.²² A boat under sail: here instead of paddling, the sailors are hoisting the sail and tightening stays. The typical pose is to have both arms raised almost vertically and to lean backwards a little. The legs are together.

C. Lookouts:

1. Cairo Museum, 4880.²³ The lookout stands foremost in the bow, with one arm bent as he holds a pole for testing the depth. His left foot is usually forward.

¹³Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 358.

¹⁴Sankh-ouaiti. Height: 14 cm. Sixth (?) dynasty. De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour* (1894-1895), fig. 45 and text, p. 18.

¹⁵Date: Time of Pepi I. W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 93, fig. 19, p. 92.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 92, fig. 20.

¹⁷Junker, "Vorbericht über die dritte Grabung bei den Pyramiden von Gizeh . . . 1914," in *Anzeiger der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 51. Jahrgang, 1914, No. XIV, pp. 178-179. They are now in the collections of the Pelizaeus-Museum in Hildesheim, according to information kindly furnished by Dr. William Stevenson Smith.

¹⁸Jéquier, *Tombeaux de Particuliers*, p. 56, and fig. 63, p. 57.

¹⁹Cairo Museum, 4880-4893, Reisner, *Models of Ships and Boats* (Cat. Caire), pls. XII-XV, XXVII, XXVIII, pp. 51-60.

²⁰Reisner, *ibid.*, pl. XII.

²¹*Ibid.*, pl. XII. An example of paddling.

²²*Ibid.*, pl. XXIII.

²³*Ibid.*, pl. XII.

D. Menials:

1. Cairo Museum, 4951.²⁴ A porter. He carries on his back two heavy bundles, one on top of the other.

III. TRANSPORTATION BY WATER: BOATS AND CREWS FOUND IN TOMBS AFTER THE OLD KINGDOM.

Model boats are a regular part of servant-figure equipment from the late Sixth dynasty on. Usually at least two boats were in the burial: one represented as being rowed downstream; the other as being sailed upstream or south, as the prevailing wind comes from the north in Egypt. In undisturbed tombs the bow of the boat being rowed faced north, while the boat being sailed faced south.²⁵ There are two main types: papyrus, and wooden.

*Type 1. Models representing boats made of papyrus stalks bound together.*²⁶ Bow and stern resemble in form a papyrus umbel. Sometimes the prows are bent up so that the umbel is almost vertical. The prows were not as pointed as with wooden boats, and steering was more difficult. The papyrus boat form may have been imitated in wood, but it is difficult to distinguish a model of a real papyrus boat from one copying a wooden imitation of a papyrus craft.

A. Models of papyrus boats being rowed downstream.

1. Sakkara, tomb of Usermut (or Usernekhbet), and Anpuemhet.²⁷ Intermediate period. Rowing boat with eleven figures: pilot in bow with right arm extended; eight squatting paddlers face bow each holding a lancet-shaped paddle; owner sits on rectangular block in shade of canopy supported on usual four posts; steersman at stern holds steering paddle on port side. Other accoutrements include: a mallet and two mooring pegs, and three conical objects whose purpose is not understood. The owner is carved out of a better quality of wood than the other figures.
2. Copenhagen, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, A 517.²⁸ Eight paddlers squat facing the bow, each with one knee on gunwale and other knee raised; owner stands under canopy; steersman squats in stern holding steering paddle on port side. Mast is stepped; rests are in mast rest and on top of canopy.
3. Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum.²⁹ Boat contains eleven figures: pilot in bow standing with right arm extended directly ahead. Eight paddlers squat facing bow, grasping lancet-shaped paddles in both hands. Owner is seated under cabin roof on cubical block with hands on knees, right hand open, left closed. Steersman squats in stern in same pose as rowers on starboard side; his steering oar is on starboard side.

²⁴*Ibid.*, pl. XXIII.

²⁵Cf. Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, p. 16; Garstang, *Annales*, V. p. 127; Petrie, *Sedment*, I, pp. 10-11.

²⁶Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, p. 137-138.

²⁷Length: 72 cm. Found near coffin of Anpuemhet. Quibell-Hayter, *op. cit.*, pl. XXII, 2, text, p. 39.

²⁸From Sakkara, tomb of Gemniemhet, Ninth dynasty. Length: 72 cm. Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, p. 53, II, pl. 29, A; Mogensen, *Coll. Eg.*, pl. LXVI, text, p. 68.

²⁹From Abusir, tomb of Harshefhotp I. Ninth-Tenth dynasty. Length: 64 cm.; width: 12.5 cm. Average height of figures: standing: 19 cm.; sitting: 11 cm.; kneeling: 10 cm. Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, fig. 115, p. 73, fig. 116, 117, p. 74.

4. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 20.3.5 (Pl. 66b).³⁰ Eleventh dynasty. Large papyrus type boat with double steering oars and twenty-two figures, being paddled downstream: pilot in usual position at bow with left foot forward; sixteen squatting paddlers facing bow, each holding lancet-shaped paddle and having outside knee touching gunwale; two steersmen each hold tiller handle of a steering oar; Meketre is seated on an almost backless throne under a large canopy supported by four posts; before him stands the captain with arms folded across chest, perhaps reporting to his master; back to back with the captain stands an overseer. It is interesting to note that the skin color of Meketre, the overseer and the captain is somewhat lighter than that of the rest of the crew. All the heads are clean-shaven. Only white skirts are worn. Color of hull, pale green; the deck is white with occasional red lines.
5. Beni Hasan, tomb of Antef (No. 1).³¹ Eleventh dynasty. Nine figures: steersman seated in stern between two steering oars with right hand on tiller; eight squatting oarsmen facing stern. All the figures wear the characteristic Middle-Kingdom wig. Since stern is higher than bow, steersman can see ahead over sailors and bow.
6. Paris, Louvre, E 12027 (Pl. 69a).³² Eleventh dynasty. Ten figures: steersman seated at stern, holding one tiller of each of the two steering oars in each hand; eight oarsmen seated facing stern; lookout in bow in usual pose.
7. Paris, Louvre, E 11993.³³ Eleventh dynasty. Very similar to No. 6, except that prows are not turned up.
8. Limoges, Musée Municipal de l'Evêché.³⁴ Twelfth dynasty. Twelve figures: lookout stands at bow; steersman squats between double steering oars at stern; nine rowers at their posts; owner seated in middle, with one servant giving him a tray. All the figures except the deceased are bearded, and wear a round headdress; most of them wear cloth skirts.
9. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 7321.³⁵ Twelfth dynasty. Papyrus-type river boat with cabin and canopy. Six figures: lookout standing at bow; four rowers; steersman at steering oar.
10. Paris, Louvre.³⁶ Twelfth dynasty. Five figures: four squatting rowers: lookout standing at bow. Steersman and double steering oars missing.

³⁰From Deir el Bahari, tomb of Meketre. Length: 132.5 cm. Winlock, *MMA Bull.*, Dec., 1920, pt. II, fig. 21, p. 27, and p. 30.

³¹Length: 106.7 cm. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 45, p. 59.

³²From Asyût, tomb of Nakhti (No. 7), (pit I). Length: 93 cm.; height: 37 cm. Chassinat, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV, 2, text, p. 51; Boreux, *Guide*, I, pl. XXIII, 2, text, p. 181.

³³From Asyût, tomb of Wepwautemhet (No. 14). Length: 88 cm.; height: 29 cm. Chassinat, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXV, 2, text, p. 164; Boreux, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-181.

³⁴Périchon Collection. Length: 75 cm.; width: 16 cm.; height: 9 cm. Unpublished.

³⁵Formerly in Von Bissing Collection, Museum Scheurleer. Length: 91.5 cm.; width: 15.5 cm. Von Bissing, *Die Kultur des alten Ägyptens*, fig. 47, pl. 19.

³⁶Provenance apparently unascertainable until its inventory number has been rediscovered. Length: 107 cm.; height: 29 cm. Unpublished.

11. Copenhagen, Glyptothèque Ny. Carlsberg, A 513 (Pl. 69b).³⁷ Flat-bottomed papyrus boat resembling an elongated raft with exceptionally long prows. Eleven figures: steersman (?) standing at stern; two women seated ahead of him, just behind owner, who is seated on cushion on top of block, beneath canopy; in front of deceased stands man holding before him a papyrus roll from which he reads; four kneeling paddlers are ahead of canopy; in front of them an overseer; lookout stands, at bow.

B. *Models of papyrus boats being sailed upstream.*

1. Sakkara, tomb of Usermut (or Usernekhbet), and Anpuemhet.³⁸ Intermediate period. Ten figures: three standing men haul on halyards; between them a man leans forward with a spike in his hand; two men squat near mast; a third man squats behind the hauling group; the lookout in bow has right arm outstretched, while left hand holds long pole for sounding; owner is seated on cushion on top of rectangular block and is shaded by canopy supported on four posts; steersman at stern is guiding boat with paddle (now lost) held on starboard side. Objects on deck include: a mallet, two mooring pegs, a Y-shaped mast rest, gangplank, two spear cases.
2. Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum.³⁹ Boat has hull with rounded prows; mast in mast hole; peg in middle of a beam perhaps for tying to bank; one hole in the middle of each gunwale as though for fastening an oar. Figures: steersman in usual squatting position in stern, holding steering oar on starboard side with both hands; two men squatting beside mast; three standing men pulling up sail; badly damaged squatting man; owner seated on cubical block with hands on knees; pilot standing at bow with left foot forward and arms at sides.
3. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 20.3.4 (Pl. 68b).⁴⁰ Eleventh dynasty. Twenty-one figures: steersman, who stands between the two rudder posts, must look under canopy roof for signals from lookout standing in bow; remarkable man at port side of bow leans with all his weight on long pole in order to head boat from bank out into the stream; near him stand two long-skirted overseers, each holding a baton in right hand; four men are raising sail; three others stand in bow; deceased sits on raised block under canopy; beside him on the deck sits his son; before Meketre stand three priests, one holding a censer (port side), the middle one reading from a roll of papyrus, and the third (starboard side) holding a leg of beef; another stands on Meketre's right; a man wearing a long skirt stands at left of steersman, facing port side. Heads of all the figures are clean shaven.
4. Asyût, tomb of Nakhti, pit I.⁴¹ Eleventh dynasty. Nine figures: steersman squatting near stern under canopy holds tiller arm in right hand; owner also under canopy

³⁷Provenance not stated. Twelfth or Thirteenth dynasty. Length: 120 cm. Mogensén, *op. cit.*, pl. LXIII, text, p. 67.

³⁸Length: 76 cm. Cf. Quibell-Hayter, *op. cit.*, pl. XXII, 1, text, p. 39.

³⁹From Abusir, tomb of Harshhehotp I. Ninth-Tenth dynasty. Length: 60 cm.; width: 14 cm. Average height of figures: standing: 17 cm.; seated: 11 cm.; squatting: 9 cm. Cf. Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, figs. 121, 122, p. 77.

⁴⁰From Deir el Bahari, tomb of Meketre. Length: 145 cm.

⁴¹Chassinat, *Fouilles d'Assiout*, pl. XIV, 1, text, p. 51.

on starboard side, with left knee raised; immediately to his left a squatting sailor paddles on the port side; just ahead of canopy three standing sailors are pulling up a yard. Mast, yards, and sail are missing. Ahead of mast hole stand two men, left foot forward, arms at sides. Lookout standing in bow with left foot forward points course with outstretched right arm. An eye is painted on each side of the bow.

5. Limoges, Musée Municipal de l'Evêché.⁴² Twelfth dynasty. Boat with double steering oars. Eleven figures: steersman at stern between dual steering oars; lookout standing at bow, with right arm extended to point out course; two squatting men; three standing men with arms extended as though to raise sail; two men squatting beside mast; two other men squatting in bow, facing mast. The sail is rolled around the upper yard.

C. Models of papyrus fishing boats.

1. Cairo Museum, 46715 (Pl. 68a).⁴³ Eleventh dynasty. These two solid papyrus canoes are built somewhat like the modern balsas of the high Andes. The two craft evidently proceeded together, each propelled by two paddlers, one in the bow the other in the stern. Amidships on each canoe three figures, wearing white skirts supported by a single strap over the left shoulder, are engaged in controlling the single seine which both boats are towing. A squatting figure on one of the canoes is handling the fish after they have been taken out of the seine.

D. Other models of papyrus boats.

1. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.⁴⁴ Twelfth dynasty. Boat with small cabin and ten figures visible: steersman at stern stands between two rudders (one missing); seven figures stand just ahead of cabin, facing forward; two other figures are further forward. Scattered around the deck are: a slaughtered ox, a stepped gangplank, a papyrus roll, a pole, a hammer, fragment of a stake, a uraeus, and part of a mast.
2. Other examples, provenance and references:
3 boats from Sakkara, tomb of Karenen, in Quibell, *Excav. at Saqqara* (1906-7), pl. XVIII and pp. 9, 11-12, 75-76; Beni Hasan, tomb of Antef (No. 1) in Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 46, p. 60; Berlin Museum, 13757, from Gebelên, see tomb of Henuy in Steindorff, *Grabfunde*, II, p. 26; Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E. 785, 18-19, E 785, 31, and E 4494, from Antinoë.

Type 2. *Wooden river boats with slightly curling stern and steering oar or oars.*⁴⁵ These are more common than the papyrus type. If present at all, there are at least two in a burial. Each boat is designed for two purposes: to be rowed downstream, and to be sailed upriver. The mast is demountable. The square sail permits sailing only directly before the wind. There is considerable variation in the size of the crew and in the details of the boats themselves. The purpose of these boats was mainly to afford pleasure to the

⁴²Périchon Collection. Length: 75 cm.; width: 14 cm.; height: 8 cm. Unpublished.

⁴³From Deir el Bahari, tomb of Meketre. Winlock, *MMA Bull.*, Dec., 1920, pt. II, fig. 24, p. 29, text, p. 30. Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, p. 100, I.

⁴⁴Formerly in Anastasy Collection. Length: 87 cm. Boeser, *Beschreibung*, III, pl. 10, text, p. 4, No. 11.

⁴⁵Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, pp. 138-140, II.

deceased. They were not connected with bearing the tomb owner to the Osiris sanctuary at Abydos and back. Boats for that purpose, which were true funeral barks, are also found in the Middle Kingdom.⁴⁶

A. Models of wooden boats being rowed downstream.

1. Copenhagen, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, A 507 (Pl. 71a).⁴⁷ Nine (originally ten) figures: steersman squats at stern below end of single rudder, holding rudder-post in right hand; seven (originally eight) oarsmen squat facing stern, each holding an oar with white blade; lookout or pilot stands stiffly in bow, left arm at side, right hand in front holding cord attached to plummet. Mast, sail, yards, and several lances are tied horizontally to the tops of two posts near the bow and stern; the lances indicate that the boat was connected with some kind of hunting expedition. Each spear has a copper blade.
2. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 11493 (Pl. 71b).⁴⁸ Rather similar to No. 1 above, except that lances are not present, and that oarsmen wear actual linen garments. An additional item is the spotted oxhide case leaning against rudder post, which probably once held spears.
3. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1921. 1659.⁴⁹ Ten figures: steersman standing at stern; lookout standing at bow (he should be turned around to face forward); eight rowers. All the oarsmen and the steersmen wear long linen garments. The eyes of all the figures are prominently painted in white and black. Sail is wrapped around the yards, which are tied to the upright mast.
4. Copenhagen, National Museum, 7544.⁵⁰ Boat with small cabin. Ten figures: standing lookout; seated steersman; eight rowers. The latter are very schematic: They have no arms; their legs have been abstracted to rounded bases. All the figures wear short headdresses. The oars are very thin. Two spear cases lie under the canopy.
5. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 20.3.2 (Pl. 71c).⁵¹ Eleventh dynasty. Twenty-three figures: steersman stands holding tiller in right hand; lookout in bow: Meketre is seated just behind lookout, wearing long real linen garment and holding a lotus flower in right hand; two figures are in front of him — his son (seated), and a singer with left hand raised to left cheek so as to make warbling sound; eighteen rowers are at their posts; they begin their stroke with the foot nearest the gunwale forward, and end it sitting on the thwarts in back of each; the cabin is amidships. Mast and two yards are supported in mast rest and on top of rudderpost.

⁴⁶Pp. 68-71.

⁴⁷From Sedment, tomb of Wazet-hotp. Ninth dynasty. Length: 55 cm.; height: 23 cm. Cf. Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, pl. XX, 2, text, pp. 7, 11; Mogensen, *Coll. Eg.*, pl. LXIII, text, p. 66.

⁴⁸From Sedment, tomb 2105. Ninth dynasty. Length (without rudder): 55 cm.; width: 8.8 cm.; height: 27 cm.; length of rudder: 28 cm. Cf. Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, p. 10. Found in recess on east side, bow facing north. Sailing boat at south end of recess had bow facing south.

⁴⁹Provenance not stated. No measurements available. Unpublished. Probably Ninth or Tenth dynasty.

⁵⁰Same as note 49. Possibly from Sedment.

⁵¹From Deir el Bahari, tomb of Meketre. Length: 117 cm. Winlock, *MMA Bull.*, Dec., 1920, pt. II, fig. 19, p. 27, text, p. 30.

6. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 21.416.⁵² Twelfth dynasty. Eight figures: steersman, lookout, and six rowers.
7. Limoges, Musée Municipal de l'Evêché.⁵³ Twelfth dynasty. Thirteen figures: steersman next to steering post at stern should be turned around to face forward; steering oar held in right hand by lookout in bow should be placed in stern; six of the eight rowers are sitting; two rowers stand, while an overseer with a baton in both hands stands between them; kneeling figure near steering post should face forward.
8. Limoges, Musée Municipal de l'Evêché (Pl. 72b).⁵⁴ Twelfth dynasty. Twelve figures: steersman at steering post should face forward; steering oar in hands of tall lookout at bow should be at stern; eight rowers; two squatting figures near lookout in bow.
9. London, British Museum, 35292 (Pl. 70b).⁵⁵ Twelfth dynasty. Eleven figures: very small steersman standing well up toward middle of boat; lookout standing in boat, facing starboard side; eight rowers, each seated on a bench; owner or captain squatting beside mast.
10. London, British Museum, 34273.⁵⁶ Twelfth dynasty. Long boat containing seventeen figures: steersman at stern; lookout at bow; fourteen rowers, of whom seven stand, the rest sit; near lookout squats a heavily cloaked man. Each rower, whether standing or seated, has his own bench.
11. Paris, Louvre Museum, N 1616 (Pl. 72a).⁵⁷ Twelfth dynasty. Steersman should be turned to face forward; lookout at bow has pole for measuring depth; four rowers at their posts; owner squatting in shade under canopy; man standing with arms outstretched, in front of canopy, facing owner.
12. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum, 1696.⁵⁸ Twelfth dynasty. Boat contains six kneeling rowers; steersman is missing; lookout at bow, faces to starboard; beside him is a squatting, heavily cloaked figure of the deceased, which is typical of the Twelfth dynasty.
13. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.⁵⁹ Twelfth dynasty. Steersman and lookout at usual positions (steersman should face forward); two rowers amidships; two standing men between lookout and the two rowers; near them are a circular basket

⁵²From El Bersheh, tomb of Dehuti-nekht, Pit 10A. Length: 60 cm. Dunham, *MFA Bull.*, Aug., 1921, p. 45.

⁵³From Asyût, excavations of M. and Mme. Périchon-Bey. Height of lookout in bow: 25 cm.; average height of seated rowers: 14.5 cm. Unpublished.

⁵⁴From Asyût, excavations of M. and Mme. Périchon-Bey. Height of tallest figure in bow: 25 cm.; length: 75 cm. Delpech-Laborie, *Guide-Catalogue Sommaire*, pl. IX, left, text, pp. 51-52.

⁵⁵Provenance not stated. British Museum, *Guide to Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms*, p. 118, no. 65.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 118, no. 63.

⁵⁷Formerly in Clot-Bey Collection. Length: 68 cm.; height: 38 cm. Boreux, *Guide*, pl. XXIII, I, text, p. 178.

⁵⁸Provenance not stated. Length: 47 cm.; width: 12 cm. Roeder, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

⁵⁹Formerly in Anastasy Collection. Length: 74 cm. Boeser, *Beschreibung*, III, pl. IX, text, p. 4, no. 10.

and a falcon-headed post; in front of the low cabin sits a woman; on her right stands another woman. A tall sealed vessel stands on top of the cabin at the forward end.

14. Berlin Museum, 12.⁶⁰ Twelfth dynasty. Twenty-one figures: a lookout (inscribed with his name) stands in bow pointing out course with raised left arm; steersman (inscribed with name) stands in stern holding tiller in both hands; owner is seated on low platform in cabin, wearing short headdress and full white garment inscribed in front from the knees on down; sixteen rowers, each seated on a bench and holding an oar in both hands; a woman servant (inscribed with her name) stands almost amidships between rowers, grinding meal in a trough with a basin at the further end to catch finished meal; she leans forward with her knees bent against the trough, her hands grasping the upper grinding stone; she wears a white dress and has yellow skin; her long hair falls down behind; a standing male servant (inscribed with his name) is straining mash through a sieve on top of a jar. Accessories lying on deck include: mallet, mooring stake, gangplank.
15. Cleveland Museum of Art, 45.14.⁶¹ Twelfth dynasty. Steersman and lookout squatting at usual positions; four oarsmen are seated on benches; deceased squats on low platform directly by rudderpost. Other objects on deck include: conical oven (?), basket full of sealed beverage jars, and large jar with tray or sieve on top. Mast and upper yard are in sailing position.
16. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 11196A.⁶² Twelfth dynasty. Twelve oarsmen are seated on thwarts. In the deck are depressions for the oarsmen's feet and lower legs, but the deck is solid down the center. Steering oar and mast are likewise missing.
17. London, British Museum, 25361 (Pl. 73a).⁶³ Middle Kingdom. Fourteen rowers each on a bench; lookout in bow faces port side. Mast is in sailing position.
18. London, British Museum, 35291 (Pl. 73b).⁶⁴ Middle Kingdom. Deceased, heavily cloaked, faces towards stern; eight standing men, with inside leg forward, are rowing; porter with burden on back stands amidships; toward stern, but still between rowers, is standing figure, apparently unoccupied; steersman at stern faces to port. Both steersman and lookout are somewhat larger and hence out of scale with the other figures.

B. Models of wooden boats being sailed upstream.

1. Copenhagen, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, A 508 (Pl. 74a).⁶⁵ Ten figures: steersman at stern beside a single rudder; just ahead of him, a squatting man holds rope

⁶⁰From Deir el Bahari, tomb of Mentuhotp. Length: 100 cm.; width: 16 cm. Average height of standing figs.: 10 cm. Found beside coffin, sarcophagus chamber, bow pointing toward foot of coffin. Steindorff, *Grabfunde*, I, text, pp. 34-37, pl. VIII, X; Berlin, *Ausf. Verz.*, p. 100; *Aeg. u. Vorderas. Alt.*, pl. 14.

⁶¹Provenance unknown. Purchased. Length: 21.6 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art, *Inaugural Catalogue*, p. 340 of the Illustrated Edition, text, p. 204, no. 8.

⁶²Provenance unknown. Purchased from Bircher, Cairo. Length: 102 cm.; width: 15.4 cm.; height at center: 27.6 cm. Unpublished. Hull is acacia wood.

⁶³Provenance not stated. British Museum, *Guide to Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Eg. Rooms*, p. 117, No. 60.

⁶⁴Provenance not stated. British Museum, *op. cit.*, p. 117, No. 58.

⁶⁵From Sedment, tomb of Wazet-hotp. Ninth dynasty. Length: 55 cm.; height: 49.5 cm. Cf. Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, pl. XX, 4, text, p. 11; Mogensen, *Coll. Eg.*, pl. LXIII, text, p. 66.

attached to upper yardarm; two kneeling men each hold a rope attached to lower yardarm; three standing men are pulling up sail; ahead of mast, two men stand with right arms outstretched; pilot stands stiffly in bow holding plummet by rope in right hand.

2. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 11492 (Pl. 74b).⁶⁶ Sailing upstream with seven figures: Steersman, two men seated beside mast; man pulling up sail; two men standing ahead of mast; lookout.
3. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1921.1658.⁶⁷ Steersman squats beside steering oar (he should face forward instead of backward); beside mast two men squat, while five others stand, hoisting sail. The figure standing nearest the bow is really the lookout, and should be turned around to face forward; at his feet lies the plummet for measuring the depth of water.
4. Copenhagen, National Museum, 7546.⁶⁸ Steersman squatting beside steering post; two squatting and two standing men, evidently hoisting sail; two men near bow, probably acting as lookouts. The feet of the figures are painted on the surface of the flat, solid deck.
5. Cairo Museum, 46720 (Pl. 75a).⁶⁹ Eleventh dynasty. Boat contains at least fourteen servant figures. Steersman at stern can see over cabin and get directions from pilot, who holds plummet; a group of sailors around the mast are pulling up a yard; two sailors (four in all) squat on either side of cabin, each making fast a backstay attached to mast; several sailors stand toward the bow momentarily not engaged; at forward end of cabin on starboard side stands an overseer with the baton in his right hand and wearing a long white skirt; within cabin sits Meketre on a chair, enjoying the fragrance of a lotus bud, with his son beside him and a singer in attendance. Behind Meketre's chair is a couch under which lie two small chests with curved tops.
6. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 21.878.⁷⁰ Twelfth dynasty. Sailing boat with mast upright.
7. Limoges, Musée Municipal de l'Evêché.⁷¹ Twelfth dynasty. Sailing boat with five figures.
8. Limoges, Musée Municipal de l'Evêché.⁷² Twelfth dynasty. Sailing boat with nine figures.

⁶⁶From Sedment, tomb 2105. Ninth dynasty. Length (without rudder): 55 cm.; width: 8.3 cm.; height to top of mast, 43 cm.; length of rudder: 28 cm. Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, p. 10.

⁶⁷Provenance not stated. No measurements available. Unpublished. Probably Ninth or Tenth dynasty.

⁶⁸Provenance not stated. Length: 57 cm. Unpublished. Probably Ninth or Tenth dynasty, and possibly from Sedment.

⁶⁹From Deir el Bahari, serdab of tomb of Meketre. Length: 122 cm.; height: circa 100 cm. Winlock, *MMA Bull.*, Dec., 1920, pt. II, vignette on cover, fig. 20, p. 27, text, pp. 28 and 30.

⁷⁰From El Bersheh, tomb of Dehuti-nekht. Length: 70.5 cm. Unpublished.

⁷¹From Asyût. Excavations of M. and Madame Périchon-Bey. Height of standing figures: 18 cm.; height of cabin: 14 cm. Unpublished.

⁷²From Asyût, Périchon Excavations. Average height of figures: 17 cm. Unpublished.

9. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum, 1697 (Pl. 75b).⁷³ Twelfth dynasty. Wooden-type river boat with dual steering oars, containing at least fifteen figures: Steersman is seated at stern, holding tiller attached to starboard steering oar; no lookout at bow; three standing men hoisting sail; three standing porters, one of whom carries a head-burden, and the other two, baskets of provisions held on the left shoulder; three squatting men directly in front of cabin; squatting man fashioning a chest with an adze; squatting man grinding (?); squatting man holding a mallet in right hand and chisel (?) in left.
10. Bristol, Museum and Art Gallery, H 4595 (Pl. 76b).⁷⁴ Twelfth dynasty. Six figures: Squatting steersman and standing lookout at usual posts; two men are hoisting sail; two other men lean in the fashion of figures poling the boat along.
11. Brooklyn Museum, 37.1483L.⁷⁵ Eleven figures: Steersman and lookout in usual positions; the other nine figures appear to have been tampered with, and it is not clear what each is doing.
12. London, British Museum, 36422.⁷⁶ Middle Kingdom. Nine figures: Two standing men at stern face forward; between small cabin and upright mast stand six men, three on one side of the boat facing the other three; directly in front of a mast a standing figure is apparently helping the others to raise sail.

C. *Models of wooden pleasure boats with accompanying kitchen boats. Eleventh and Twelfth dynasties.*

1. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 20.3.1 (Pl. 77b, right).⁷⁷ Eighteen figures: Steersman squats in stern, unable in this position to see signals from pilot standing in bow; a dozen rowers are at their posts; captain stands addressing Meketre, who is seated in front of cabin, listening to kneeling blind harper on his left, and to a squatting singer before him.
2. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 20.3.3 (Pl. 77b, left).⁷⁸ Wooden kitchen and commissary boat being rowed downstream to accompany No. 1 above, and containing at least fifteen figures: Steersman squatting in stern cannot see over cabin to lookout in bow, who holds plummet in right hand; eight rowers in usual position; between rowers two women grind flour at raised stands; man squats beside oven (?) with pot on top; in cabin man standing in tub kneading with his feet is also rolling dough with his hands in another vessel. Cabin contains wine jars, racks of beer jars, and joints of meat which have been hung up.
3. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 21.406 (Pl. 77a).⁷⁹ Wooden river boat which was probably intended to be towed, containing five figures: Under porch of cabin sit

⁷³Purchased. Length: 86 cm.; width: 32 cm. Roeder, *Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums*, p. 75, fig. 20. The double steering oars on a wooden type boat are unusual.

⁷⁴From Beni Hasan, tomb 275 (of Thaay). Length: 87.5 cm.; height of tallest figure: 27.9 cm. Garstang, *op. cit.*, p. 221. Formerly in Victoria and Albert Museum, No. 10711904.

⁷⁵Obtained by Dr. Abbott in Egypt in the 1840's; said to be from Thebes.

⁷⁶Provenance not stated. British Museum, *op. cit.*, p. 117, No. 59.

⁷⁷From Deir el Bahari, tomb of Meketre. Length: 128 cm. Winlock, *MMA Bull.*, Dec., 1920, pt. II, fig. 22, p. 28, fig. 25, p. 29, text, p. 30; Winlock, *The Private Life of the Ancient Egyptians*, fig. 20.

⁷⁸Also from tomb of Meketre. Length: 126 cm. Winlock, *MMA Bull.*, loc. cit.

⁷⁹From El Bersheh, tomb of Dehuti-nekht, Pit 10A. Length: 86 cm. Dunham, *MFA. Bull.*, Aug., 1921, p. 45.

three men, singing and clapping their hands; fourth man, in white cloak squats nearby; fifth figure (which must be woman because skin is painted yellow) stands at entrance of porch looking forward. Spacious cabin has doors fore and aft; under porch roof stand a table or couch and a small traveling trunk.

4. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 21.494 (Pl. 76a).⁸⁰ Wooden river boat serving as commissary and kitchen for No. 3 above, containing two figures; because of lack of space at stern helmsman squats on roof of cabin; cook squats at bow fanning fire with fan held in right hand; near him are two sealed beverage jars and two baskets of food.

D. *Models of wooden boats for fishing and fowling.*

1. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 20.3.6 (Pl. 78a).⁸¹ Eleventh dynasty. Wooden fishing and fowling river boat containing fifteen figures: boat is propelled by six paddlers; two harpooners stand at bow, also a man with a short forked pole (perhaps for catching fish); captain stands amidships; girl in long white dress brings duck, and next to her a boy brings fish to Meketre, who is seated in front of canopy; another man carrying fish stands on right of deceased; third man with fish pegged to deck squats before owner; Meketre's son is seated on his father's left. Poles of fowling nets are lashed to side of cabin.

E. *Models of other wooden boats.*

1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 21.890.⁸² Twelfth dynasty. Unusual river boat containing man seated beside steering post, and amidships two crouching birds (Pl. 79b). The latter are white with black marking, having yellow breasts, and black bills and eyes; they face forward.
2. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.⁸³ Twelfth dynasty. Wooden-type river boat containing four figures: steersman is missing; in front of large cabin sits a woman; before her stand two sailors with arms outstretched, facing her; next to a post where the mast would normally be, squats a man facing to port; in bow is a figure kneeling on right knee, possibly a lookout. Near the seated woman are: a stand with eight holes, and a red stool. Two vessels are in the bow.
3. Other examples, references:
Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, pp. 41, 52; Schäfer, *Priest.*, figs. 111, 114, 118, 120, and pp. 71-73, 75-76; Petrie-Brunton, *Sediment Excav. at Saq.* (1906-07), pl. XVII, 2 and pp. 9, 11, 12; Quibell-Hayter, *Teti Pyramid, North Side*, pl. XXIII, 1-2 and pp. 39-40; Garstang, *Burial Customs*, figs. 54, 57-59, 68, 72, 74, 86-89, 229, and pp. 40, 67, 70, 72, 81, 84, 85, 96-97, 231; Daressy, *Annales*, 1, pp. 29-31, 35-36; Jéquier, *Annales*, XXXV, p. 153; Berlin Museum 1232, 1289 in *Ausf. Verzeichnis* (1899), pp. 75-76; Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. X C; Lansing, text, p. 12, *MMA Bull.*, Dec., 1924, pt. II, p. 40, figs. 9-10; Limoges, Musée Municipal de l'Evêché, Périchon Collection, 2 examples (unpublished); Toronto, Royal Museum of Archaeology, from tomb of Mentuhotp III at Deir el Bahari (unpublished); Philadelphia, University Museum, E 1018 (unpublished); Copenhagen, National Museum, 5488.

⁸⁰Also from tomb of Dehuti-nekht. Length: 49.5 cm. Dunham, *MFA. Bull.*, loc. cit.

⁸¹From Deir el Bahari, tomb of Meketre. Length: 114.5 cm. Winlock, *MMA Bull.*, Dec., 1920, pt. II, fig. 23, p. 29, text, p. 30.

⁸²From El Bersheh, tomb of Dehuti-nekht. Length: 47.5 cm. Unpublished.

⁸³Formerly in Anastasy Collection. Length: 87 cm. Boeser, *Beschreibung*, III, pl. XI, text, p. 4, No. 12.

Type 3. *Models of boats in materials other than wood.* Twelfth dynasty or general Middle Kingdom.

1. Berlin Museum, 14203 (Pl. 79a).⁸⁴ Limestone. Four men stand, two on either side of a boat, either pushing it into or out of water: this piece is without parallel in Egyptian sculpture. One of the figures has a distinct curve in the spinal column and all of them deviate more or less from strict frontality. The water below is indicated by lines drawn in semi-circles. The figures are not cut free from the boat.
2. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 20.1306, 20.1307, and 20.1308 (Pl. 80a).⁸⁵ Three faïence heads from statuettes of sailors from faïence boats. In their original state the boats from which these figures have come contained probably about ten rowers, five on a side. Each of the three quoted examples is bearded, having the beard, eyes, and hair painted in black. Parts of at least twelve male figures were discovered.
3. Brooklyn Museum, 37.322L (Pl. 78b).⁸⁶ Glazed steatite model boat containing nine figures: steersman and lookout appear never to have been part of this model; almost amidship stands an entirely nude figure, perhaps the owner; seated facing him is a woman (?) wearing a long garment; behind her sit two more figures similarly posed; behind the nude standing central figure sit four other figures, in pairs, dressed and posed rather similarly to the owner. A male porter carrying a rectangular pack held to his back by both arms, which are bent double, stands at the bow, facing the stern. The central figure, though now nude, may originally have worn an actual linen garment. There are also present two figures of animals, probably intended for sacrifice. The bow and stern are quite similar though not identical, and as there is no evidence of mast, rigging, or propulsion by rowing, it must have moved by being towed. The piece is altogether unique.
4. London, British Museum, 9507.⁸⁷ Stone. Unusual type river boat, containing five figures: under an extraordinary canopy, supported on four stubby octagonal columns with large capitals stands a man kneading dough or straining mash in the fashion of the Old Kingdom; facing the canopy ahead are two kneeling men with their arms resting on their thighs; behind the canopy are two more similarly posed figures. In the bow (?) facing the canopy stands a goat (?). In raised relief on the side of the boat below the canopy is depicted a lion killing a gazelle (?), the whole being done more in the style of the Eighteenth dynasty. To judge from the photograph, this example has every appearance of being a modern forgery, a doubt which has already been expressed.

⁸⁴Provenance not stated. Length: 15.5 cm. Schäfer, *Propyläenkunstgeschichte*, 2nd ed., p. 283, No. 4, p. 598, and p. 56. This is the only case of non-frontality in the Middle Kingdom.

⁸⁵From Kerma, tumulus K3, burial chamber of tomb of Prince Hepzefa, dating from reign of Sesostri I. Reisner, *Harvard African Studies*, VI, pp. 170-171, fig. 186, p. 171, fig. 187, p. 172, pl. 48, 3.

⁸⁶From the former Abbott Collection, which was assembled between 1832 and 1852. From Thebes. Length: 21.3 cm.; greatest width: 5.8 cm.; greatest height: 7.4 cm. Originally the model was entirely swathed in linen, traces of which remain. Unpublished.

⁸⁷Provenance not stated. Presented by Capt. Taylor in 1841. British Museum, *op. cit.*, p. 118, No. 66.

CHAPTER VI

ENTERTAINMENT

1. MUSICIANS AND SINGERS.

THE former, who may be either men or women, play harps; while the latter always appear to be girls.

Type 1. Harpists from the Fifth dynasty. Limestone. The only three stone servant figures from the Old Kingdom representing musicians belong to the Nikauanupe group at the Oriental Institute in Chicago.¹

1. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10642 (Pl. 81a).² Kneeling woman playing a harp.³ Much can be learned by comparing this figure with similar representations in the reliefs.⁴ It is quite evident from these that the upper end of the harp extended some distance above the head of the player. Hence in the case of this Oriental Institute figure perhaps as much as one quarter of the total length of the harp is broken off and missing. Although the figure kneels, the legs below the knees are thrown over toward the right. The left leg is bent and crossed over, so that the toes of the left foot just protrude from under the right ankle. The right leg is doubled up, and the right foot is so placed that the sole is uppermost. The harp rests on the base in front of the left knee, with its back against the left shoulder. The left hand reaches around the back of the harp to touch the strings; the right hand plucks the strings from the opposite side. The plane of the five strings is a thin section of stone with engraved lines which have been reinforced with paint. The woman wears a wig, and a white dress supported by a broad strap. She holds her head slightly raised. The right arm is free. Her cheeks are rather fat. Her left shoulder, which is higher, is much too wide in comparison with the right; the reason for this distortion is the fact that the harp is proportionately too broad, but had to be made so to avoid

¹Cf. W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, pl. 27e, text, p. 101.

²Height: 20.7 cm.; width: 11 cm.; length: 16.1 cm.

³Miss Elizabeth Eaton, of the Egyptian Dept. at the Museum of Fine Arts, in Boston, called my attention to three plastic harpists from the Early Culture of the Cyclades, dating from perhaps 2000 B.C. Cf. Bossert, *The Art of Ancient Crete* (1937), Nos. 412 and 413, p. 243, and No. 421, p. 245. Two sit on stools, while the third occupies a chair; each of the Nikauanupe harpists kneels.

⁴Cf. Chicago University, *Mereruka*, I, pl. 94 and 95; Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti*, pl. 59 and 60; Klebs, *Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches*, fig. 88, p. 108; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, zweite Abteilung, pl. 36, C, second register from bottom, first two figures.

breakage. The right shoulder is slightly ahead of the left, thereby lending a small twist to the torso. The whole figure leans to the right a little. Her dress reaches above the knees. Colors: skin and harp, yellow; dress, white; hair and base, black.

2. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10641 (Pl. 81b).⁵ A male dwarf playing a harp. The little man sits directly on the base, his stubby legs slightly spread apart on the ground in front of him. The feet are small and deformed. Again the harp rests with one end on the ground just inside the left foot, while the upper part stands against the left shoulder. Whereas the strings of No. 1 above are practically vertical, here they lean toward the left at the top. The position of the arms is much the same as that of No. 1 above. The right arm is quite free. A garment is visible above the waist in back, but does not appear to pass over either shoulder. The right shoulder is a trifle higher than the left, as would be the case in real life especially when the harp is tilted to the left at its upper end. Three strings are indicated on each side. The top of the harp is missing.
3. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10640 (Pl. 80b).⁶ A woman playing a harp. The top of the harp is missing. What is now the top is against the woman's left ear. Five strings are indicated on each side; each string seems to have been passed through a separate hole at the bottom of the frame and to have been tied around the frame at the top. The harp strings are almost in a vertical plane. The right arm is free. In order to hold the harp in the indicated position, the woman has to lean somewhat to her right, thus throwing the spinal column to the right at its upper end. This puts the left shoulder higher than the right, and forces the right shoulder further forward than the left. The torso leans a little to the right. Thus the pose is not strictly frontal. Possibly it is only my imagination, yet I seem to feel that when seen from three-quarters from the right the face has a plaintive quality, with some of the sensitiveness of a singer. Her garment, which leaves the right shoulder bare, is supported over the left shoulder and reaches to above the knees.⁷ Colors: skin, yellow;⁸ hair and base, traces of black.

Type 2. Harpists and singers entertaining deceased. Wood. Intermediate period.

1. Cairo Museum.⁹ Karenen is seated in a sedan chair. Poles for carrying chair were not found; but holes for thongs used in carrying the chair are present. On either side sits a harpist, a woman on the right, a man on the left; three women singers are seated in front. A favorite girl attendant sits on a stool slightly in front and to

⁵Height: 12.5 cm.; width: 7.2 cm.; length: 9.6 cm.

⁶Height: 11.1 cm.; width: 6.2 cm.; length: 10 cm.

⁷The material of her dress resembles that of the wife of Nikauanupe in Oriental Institute 10618, and is best described as resembling modern "pebbly crepe." A rather marked parallel to this material in life-size sculpture occurs in an Old-Kingdom figure of a woman, Cairo Museum 48,828. Cf. Daressy, "La Tombe de la Mère de Chéfredon", in *Annales*, X, 1910, pp. 41-49 and 1 pl.; also Dittmann, "Eine Mantelstatue aus der Zeit der 4. Dynastie," in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*, Bd. 8, 1939, pp. 165-170, p. 25 a and b, 26 a, b, and c. Other parallels are found in Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, Nos. 24, 37, 176, and 265.

⁸Yellow skin color is absolute proof that a woman is here represented. The descriptive information in the museum records of the Oriental Institute and the label in the case both refer to this piece as a man.

⁹From Sakkara, tomb of Karenen. Tenth dynasty. Length: 33 cm. Cf. Quibell, *Excav. at Saqq.* (1906-07), pl. XVI, text, pp. 10, 74-75. *pe 39130*

his right. Karenen is of superior dark wood; he holds in his right hand the handle of a fly-whisk imitating a human hand. The whisk which was of soft material is missing. The singers seem to be dancing girls as well; one wears the knob-ended braid of a gymnast or acrobat.

*Type 3. Eleventh dynasty. Wooden models of musicians and singers.*¹⁰

1. Cairo Museum, Ent. 44419.¹¹ Harpist seated on his haunches, left knee raised, right knee bent and on ground. Harp is held against left shoulder. Left hand is higher on strings than right. Head leans and turns definitely to right so as to see around harp; right shoulder is lower than left. There is a slight bend in the spinal column toward the right; frontality has here been abandoned. The eyes are open and the pupils are both indicated.¹² Colors: skin, brownish yellow; hair, black and skirt, white; harp, brownish yellow with red, black and white markings; strings, red; base, red; red dashes under upper edge of skirt to indicate puckering due to pull of drawstring.
2. Woman harpist.¹³ Seated on ground, she plays a harp almost twice her height when sitting.

Type 4. Other Middle-Kingdom models of musicians and singers.

1. Cairo Museum, 490.¹⁴ Standing female harpist: left leg forward, right leg carries weight. The hands, extended somewhat to the left, grasp the strings of a harp, while the arms help to support the instrument, which has four strings.
2. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 7267.¹⁵ Two singers: each stands with the right hand before the mouth, left arm at side.
3. Berlin Museum, 9573 (Pl. 83a).¹⁶ Seated monkey, with small monkey behind, plays harp. It is possible that this is a parody on other figures of musicians.
4. Berlin Museum, 13244 (Pl. 83b).¹⁷ Standing, apparently nude female holding lyre against left shoulder. She seems to wear flimsy upper garment. In front on the right side the headdress falls down well below the shoulder.
5. British Museum, 48,658. Painted wooden figure of a female harpist playing a six-stringed harp. — Pictured in the 14th edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, vol. 8, pl. XI, no. 8. Said to be of about Eighteenth dynasty.

¹⁰Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, p. 140 ff., I.

¹¹From Sheikh Farag (northernmost cemetery at Naga ed-Dêr), tomb 132. White limestone. Height: 18 cm. *JEA*, VI, 1920, pp. 117-118, pl. XIV, XV, 1, 2, 3 and 4. Workmanship mediocre.

¹²Reisner is surely mistaken in stating (*JEA*, VI, 1920, p. 117): "The harper has his eyes closed and is manifestly blind." Pl. VI facing p. 117 in the same publication clearly shows the iris of both eyes. Blindness in Egyptian art is depicted by half-open eyes whose balls are white.

¹³Formerly in Martyn Kennard Collection. From Thebes. Height: 12 cm. Sandstone. *JEA*, VI, pl. XV, 5; Sotheby, *Sale Catalogue*, July 18, 1912, pl. II, No. 51, p. 7; Burlington Fine Arts Club, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, pl. 30, No. 48, *Exhibition*, p. 10, No. 48. — *Ibidem*, pl. 23, No. 189, p. 10, No. 49, there is another such figure, broken. From Thebes. In Wallis Collection. Height: 6 cm. Limestone.

¹⁴Provenance unknown. Height: 6 cm. Limestone. Borchardt, *Statuen*, II, pl. 82, text, p. 67.

¹⁵From Gebelein (?), Eg. 11.597. Bronze. Middle Kingdom (?). Height: 7 cm. and 7.7 cm.

¹⁶Provenance unknown. Limestone. Height: 12 cm. Schäfer-Andrae, *Propyläenkunstgesch.*, 2nd ed., p. 283, No. 3; p. 56 and p. 598; Berlin, *Ausf. Verzeichnis* (1899), p. 203.

¹⁷Provenance unknown. Terra cotta. Berlin, *Ausf. Verzeichnis* (1899), p. 107.

II. DANCERS OR ACROBATS.

Type 1. Predynastic figure with arms raised, perhaps in dancing posture.

1. Negade.¹⁸ Standing, with arms raised high to side and above head. Skin decorated with numerous zigzag, chevron, and animal designs. Feet and hands lacking (probably from beginning). Scharff¹⁹ thinks such figures are in a dancing attitude, and as such are the earliest known attempt to represent the human figure in a specific activity. Several similar examples are known.²⁰

*Type 2. Sixth dynasty. Dancing girls.*²¹

1. Cairo Museum, 248.²² Wood. A nude dancing girl, standing. Her legs are close together, and she is placed squarely on a rectangular base. Originally three braids of hair hung down in back, of which the entire middle braid and part of the right one remain. Both arms are missing. The eyes have kohl lines. Considerable color remains: hair, brows, eyelids, pupils and upper surface of the base, black; whites of eyes, white; skin, yellow; sides of base, red.
2. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, MFA 24.978, head perhaps from a statuette of a 'dancing girl.'²³ Pottery. Her eyes and brows are heavily emphasized by paint. Her head is shaven, except for a circular patch in back and a short bang over the forehead.

Type 3. Dancers or acrobats.

1. Brooklyn Museum 13.1024 (Pl. 84, 85b).²⁴ Twelfth dynasty. This small limestone figure is unique in the field of free sculpture. With legs together this female dancer or acrobat has leaned over backwards with her arms extended straight out behind, so that they support her on the ground. Her hair, traces of which are evident on her left side, where some of the original paint remains, is long, and falls straight down to touch the ground. Base is rectangular and is the same piece of stone as the statuette.²⁵
2. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 34.1.130.²⁶ Dancing pygmy²⁷ or dwarf, which along with three other similar figures was part of a mechanical toy. This amusing little male figure is nude except for a band running diagonally from the left

¹⁸Petrie-Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. LIX, 6, text, pp. 14, 45-46.

¹⁹Scharff, *Handbuch*, p. 445.

²⁰One in Bremen, Museum für Natur-, Völker-, und Handelskunde, illustrated in Scharff, *Altertümer*, II, fig. 20, p. 32. Two in terra cotta in Brooklyn Museum, 07.447.505, 07.447.502 (Pl. 82) from Tomb No. 2 at Mohamerieh. Cf. Henri de Morgan, *Annales*, XII, p. 32; Goodyear, *Brooklyn Museum Quarterly*, I (1914), fig. on p. 73. One in British Museum, 53.874 (unpublished), with raised arms and long hair.

²¹Cf. Klebs, *RAR*, p. 109, II; E. Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz im alten Ägypten*.

²²Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 53, text, pp. 160-161. Height: 37 cm. From the tomb of Ni'ankh-Pepy-Kem.

²³From Sheikh Farag.

²⁴From Abydos. Length: 17.5 cm.; greatest height: 6.5 cm. Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, III, pl. 9, 2 and text, p. 27. Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, p. 147, especially fig. 108.

²⁵I am much indebted to Mr. J. D. Cooney of the Brooklyn Museum, for having excellent photographs of this remarkable piece made especially for me.

²⁶From Lisht, south pyramid, mastaba west of Se'n-Wosret-ankh, tomb of Hepy, pit 3, under the side. Middle of Twelfth dynasty. Height: 6.5 cm. Ivory. The other three figures are in the Cairo Museum. Lansing, *MMA Bull.*, Nov., 1934, Section II, fig. 31, p. 36, figs. 32 and 33, p. 37, text, p. 30-36.

²⁷I think it more probably a pygmy because the hair seems to be Negroid.

shoulder across the chest. The hands are palm to palm against the breast. The facial expression suggests agony, but this may be part of the dance routine. Suggestion of any sort of feeling by facial expression is quite rare in Egyptian art. The legs are partly bent, the feet together at the heels, and the knees point out toward the side.

3. Berlin Museum, 14202 (Pl. 85a).²⁸ Middle Kingdom. The pose of this female figure is very much the same as that of No. 1 above, except that the elbows are bent and the distance between the feet and hands is proportionately greater. She wears a short skirt; her headdress closely resembles that of Cairo Museum 248. According to Dr. Anthes,²⁹ similar limestone figures have been discovered in Middle Kingdom burials at El Bersheh.

III. GAMES AND WRESTLING.

*Type 1. Group*³⁰ consisting of a boy and girl playing an active game.³¹ This is the only known example from the Old Kingdom. The 'service' rendered by such a pair probably lay in amusing the deceased. Fifth dynasty. Limestone.

1. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10639, boy and girl playing (Pl. 86a, 86b).³² The girl wears a dress from about the level of the breasts to the knees, while the boy is nude. The former's right arm, which was missing, has been restored, but the right hand is original. Likewise, the girl's left forearm and hand are missing, and have not been restored. She was broken across the middle, which break has been mended. In the case of the boy, the lower portion of his legs and part of his feet are missing; his right arm and shoulder are also lacking. His head was broken off at the lower part of the neck; this break has been repaired. His broken left wrist has been mended. On the same side of the base as that of the boy's right hand, the corner of the base has been broken off, both front and rear. Remarkable stone-cutting characterizes this early stone group of servant statues. The limbs are largely cut free, except for their terminations, which are attached either to the base or to the other figure. The girl kneels, leans far forward, and supports her forward weight with her hands. Her feet are vertical, except for the toes, which are on the ground. Her head is turned almost at right angles to her right. Her hair and the edges of her eyelids are in raised relief.

The boy stands astride of her neck and shoulders, facing her. His knees are slightly bent, and he leans forward at an angle of perhaps forty-five degrees. His left hand rests on the girl's back about two-thirds of the way down. Despite the position of the girl's head, the boy's crotch is cut free.

²⁸Provenance unknown. Length: 10.7 cm. Limestone. Schäfer-Andrae, *Propyläenkunstgesch.*, 2nd ed., p. 56; p. 283, No. 5; p. 598; Von Bissing, *ÄZ* 37, p. 77.

²⁹In letter to me.

³⁰Cf. Roeder, "Freie Plastik aus Ägypten in dem Rijksmuseum van Oudheden," in *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, Nieuwe Reeks XX, 1939, pp. 16-17, for a discussion of this group.

³¹Only two stone groups of servant statues are known in the entire Old Kingdom, and as such they are second only to the pair of Fourth-dynasty groups of King Mycerinus (Cf. Schäfer-Andrae, *Propyläenkunstgesch.* 2nd ed., p. 221). Cf. p. 29, for the second servant figure group.

³²Height: 21.3 cm.; width: 8.8 cm.; length: 16.9 cm. This belongs to the Nikauanupe group. Cf. W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, pl. 27f, text, p. 101.

The outstanding characteristic of this group is the marked turn of the girl's head, about 70° to the right and about 40° upward. The boy's gaze is straight ahead, which is to say that the head is not turned down toward the person beneath and before him. His head is flat on top when seen in side profile. His left arm is free except for the left hand, which is attached to the girl's back.

If this pair should actually be wrestling, it may be compared to a scene in the tomb of Ptahhotep.³³ Here nude boys are actively engaged in wrestling; in each they are either trying to throw each other, or else one in a given pair has already done so. But not one of these six pairs is posed in a manner even vaguely approximating the attitude of the Chicago pair. This group is without parallel in Old-Kingdom free sculpture.³⁴ But a very close parallel occurs in a relief now in Leiden from the tomb of Akhet-hetep-her.³⁵ Here it is evident that a man is beating a boy, probably in fun. The lower figure kneels on the right knee, while the upper figure straddles in such a way that the head of the lower figure protrudes behind from between the legs of the upper figure. The left hand of the upper figure is at the side, while the right arm is bent, and the hand raised as if to strike. The right arm of the lower figure is down with the hand on the ground for support while the left hand is raised (just visible) perhaps to ward off blows. An overseer stands nearby pointing with the second finger of the left hand. He may be keeping score. In the case of the Chicago pair, it is most unlikely that punishment is being meted out, for this would be a theme without parallel in servant statues. The action must be connected with a game.

There is one point regarding the Chicago pair which seems to have remained unnoticed in print at least. The boy's left hand grasps some object which is too large to be merely the fragmentary remains of the right hand. Furthermore, the object shows traces of light brown. I know of no relief scenes which show such an object or give a hint as to what it might be. While some doubt has been expressed regarding the sex of the lower figure,³⁶ the latter's yellow skin color is clear proof that a girl is represented.

*Type 2. Wrestlers.*³⁷ Intermediate period. It is surprising to find such a difficult subject represented in limestone, just as in the Old Kingdom. One would expect it only in wood. The type is one of the most remarkable among servant figures, if only because it deviates from the tradition of strict frontality.

1. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, E 6846.³⁸ Two men obviously engaged in wrestling: one has the upper hand; he stands with both feet on the

³³Cf. Paget and Pirie, *The Tomb of Ptah-hotep*, pl. XXXIII, top register, left-hand page.

³⁴Similar groups are known in the First Intermediate Period.

³⁵Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, pl. 105, upper register, the pair of male figures to the right of the second single figure from the left. Cf. Roeder, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-20; Mohr, *Jaarbericht*, II, no. 7 (1940), pp. 535-541, 559.

³⁶Cf. Oriental Institute Museum records.

³⁷Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, p. 151 ff.; V. Wilsdorf, *Ringkampf im alten Ägypten*, pp. 13-15.

³⁸From Arab el Burg, near Asyüt. Cl.A.10.945, Eg. 597. Formerly in Von Bissing Collection. Limestone. 9.5 cm. x 8 cm. x 5 cm. Von Bissing, *Denkmäler Ägyptischer Skulptur*, pl. 29, and accompanying text. This pose appears in wall scenes: Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, II, Pl. V, tomb 15, second register from top, twenty-second pair.

ground and his body bent forward. His left arm is around his opponent's thigh, his right around the waist. He is about to lift up his opponent. The underdog's left knee is on the ground. With his other slightly bent leg he is trying not to lose his hold on the ground. With his left arm he is attempting to grasp his opponent's right leg. His right arm is not sculptured. The upper part of his body shows a slight curve at the hips and thereby breaks with rigid frontality. The corners of the contestants' mouths seem to show physical strain.

2. Munich, Ägyptologisches Institut der Universität, Inv.-1560. Much smaller pair of wrestlers.³⁹

³⁹Former Von Bissing Collection: From Arab el Burg, near Asyüt. Cf. Von Bissing, *Denkmäler*, text accompanying pl. 29, footnote 9, second page of text. Wilsdorf, *op. cit.*, fig. 4-8, pl. II, III, text, pp. 4 and 15; Von Bissing, *Die Kultur des alten Ägyptens*, fig. 5, pl. 2. — A third pair of wrestlers, from Thebes, in Wallis Collection, length 14 cm., limestone, is pictured in: Burlington Fine Arts Club, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, pl. 23, No. 187, *Exhibition*, p. 10, No. 53. — A fourth, from Kahun, limestone, is pictured in: Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, Pl. LI, no. 374, text, p. 59. — Spiegelberg's attribution of two heads in Strassburg to a similar group remains doubtful. Cf. Spiegelberg, *Ausgewählte Kunst-Denkmäler*, pl. III, No. 5-6, text, p. 4.

CHAPTER VII

CONCUBINES AND OTHER GROUPS OF RETAINERS

I. CONCUBINES.

The term "concubine" has long been used to describe nude women found in burials in Egypt. That at least some of them were wives is not impossible. As used in this study, the term is applied to all *nude* figures of women, who may be present in the capacity of concubine or wife.

Type 1. Nude ivory woman without steatopygy. Pre-dynastic.

1. Badari, grave 5107.¹ Not much waist. Long, pendulous breasts. Arms below elbows merge into loins. Feet consist of very small projections. Narrow, deep pubic triangle with criss-crossing horizontal and vertical lines. Large eyes and nose. Small slit for mouth. Not too careful rendering of details such as pupils, nostrils, nipples, dimples at base of back, and vertical groove at back of head.

Type 2. Nude woman with some steatopygy.

Such figures occur in a variety of materials; pottery, clay, limestone, lapis lazuli, and ivory. Pre-dynastic.

1. Badari, grave 5227.² Pottery. Very narrow waist. Small, pointed breasts. Arms folded in front. Hands clearly indicated. Wide pubic triangle with faint horizontal lines.
2. Mostagedda, grave 1872.³ Limestone. Legs of a steatopygous statuette found in filling. Well marked short horizontal ridge above pubic region perhaps intended to represent a belt.
3. Mostagedda, grave 494.⁴ Red clay. Found in four pieces, three between face and knees of deceased, the fourth behind head. Crude raised bar running across front of figure below waist may represent arms with hands clasped. Two dimples are in lumbar region.

¹Height: 14 cm. Brunton & Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilization*, pl. XXIV, 2, XXV, 3, 4, text, pp. 7, 29-30.

²*Ibid.*, Pl. XXIV, 1, XXV, 6, 7, text, pp. 9, 29.

³Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. XLII, 33, text, pp. 72 and 89.

⁴*Ibid.*, pl. XXIV, 31, text, pp. 36, 56. Brunton is uncertain as to what the raised bar may represent.

Type 3. Nude unbaked-mud woman with marked steatopygy. Pre-dynastic.

1. Badari, grave 5769.⁵ Crude and clumsy. Waist indicated. Small breasts now broken off. No arms. Legs not defined. Wide, rather shallow pubic triangle with diagonal lines. Head in the shape of a small knob. Eyes indicated by pair of incised parallel lines. String of beads on front of neck. Four parallel incised lines behind each shoulder, running almost to waist. Three chevrons on center of back. Lines on back may represent tattooing or painting.

Type 4. Nude female figures with legs together and arms at sides.

1. Berlin Museum, 14210.⁶ Fifth dynasty. Limestone.
2. Sedment.⁷ Sixth dynasty. Wood. Nude female figure with black line down axis of body and legs. The impression given is that the statuette is unfinished. Her headdress covers her ears. This figure is included here because it was found together with three groups of servant figures and three Ka-statues.
3. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1921.1662.⁸ Standing nude woman, with thin waist. Wood.
4. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 04.1777 (Pl. 87a, 87b).⁹ Eleventh dynasty. Wood. Nude standing statuette of the woman Idu. She has a long headdress falling below shoulders in front and back. She wears bracelets, necklaces, anklets and sandals but is otherwise nude. Her eyes are inlaid, consisting of pieces of quartz, white sclerotic, and black edges and pupils. Colors: small area near temples and necklace, green; headdress, nipples, navel, tips of finger nails, sandal straps, black; bracelets and anklets, red and blue; sides of base, red.
5. Paris, Louvre, E 12003 (Pl. 88a).¹⁰ Twelfth dynasty. Nude except for collar, bracelets and anklets. Her headdress is quite short. By a curious accident both thumbs are missing. Color of the wood is a rich brown.
6. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 20.1120 (Pl. 89a).¹¹ Twelfth dynasty. Wood. Arms doweled on; legs touching to point half way between knees and feet; bare-footed. Headdress is short. The carving is extremely delicate.
7. Limoges, Musée Municipal de l'Evêché.¹² Twelfth dynasty. Wood. Nude except for necklace, bracelets, and anklets.

⁵Brunton & Caton-Thompson, *The Bad. Civ.*, pl. XXIV, 3, text, pp. 17, 29.

⁶(Berlin, *Ausf. Verzeichnis* 1899, p. 71.) I have not seen an illustration of this piece. The mere fact that it is nude suggests that it belongs to the category of concubines.

⁷Found about ten feet down the shaft of the tomb of Meryre-hashetef. Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, pl. XI, 3, 7, text, p. 3.

⁸From Sedment, tomb of Mertetes (2112), Ninth dynasty. *Ibid.*, I, pl. XXVI, 2, and XXXIX, text, pp. 7, 12.

⁹From Asyût, hall of family tomb No. 6, excavations of Chassinat. Height: 47.5 cm. Purchased. Chassinat, *op. cit.*, pl. II, 1, text, pp. 4-5. Base inscribed.

¹⁰From Asyût, tomb 13, excavations of Chassinat. Height: 60 cm. Chassinat, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXII, 1 and 2, text, p. 162.

¹¹From El Bersheh, Harvard-Boston Expedition, tomb 19, B. Expedition No. 13-5-666. Height: 27.4 cm. W. S. Smith, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 84, fig. 54, left-hand figure, p. 86.

¹²From Meir, excavations of M. and Madame Périchon-Bey. Height: 30 cm. Delpech-Laborie, *Guide-Catalogue Sommaire*, pl. II, No. 9, text, pp. 26-27.

8. Cleveland Museum of Art, 43.14 (Pl. 90d).¹³ Twelfth dynasty. Wood. Wears raised necklace, bracelets and anklets. Collar fastened behind is unusual. Wig, black.
9. Berlin Museum, 9622 (Pl. 90a).¹⁴ Middle Kingdom. Nude, without arms and feet.
10. Berlin Museum, 12554 (Pl. 88b).¹⁵ Middle Kingdom. Carefully modelled nude figure on a reed or wooden frame. Wears elaborate necklace, bracelets and anklets, all in raised relief. Headdress between medium and short in length.
11. Berlin Museum, 9583 (Pl. 90b).¹⁶ Middle Kingdom. Nude figure tattooed with numerous lozenges and dots arranged in lines. Arms at sides almost to knees. No feet present. Holes in head perhaps for attaching some real hair. Color: hair, blue; eyes, bracelets and tattooing, black.
12. Washington, D. C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection (Pl. 89b, 89c).¹⁷ Possibly Middle Kingdom. Nude figure wearing broad necklace, wristlets, and a belt probably of shells. On these decorative elements much color remains, and also on the eyes. Two of the original three braids of hair remain; both are attached by dowel pins, as are the arms.

Type 5. Crude human figure without legs, cut from a broad piece of wood. Provenance of all but No. 9 unknown.

1. Brooklyn Museum, 5-37.105L (Pl. 92a). Herringbone pattern painted on upper portion would indicate that this much was covered by some sort of garment. There is great emphasis on the pubic area.
2. Brooklyn Museum, 4-37.104L (Pl. 92b). Has several strands of beads hanging from head.
3. Brooklyn Museum, 3-37.103L. Rather similar to No. 1 above.
4. Brooklyn Museum, 3-37.102L (Pl. 91a). Similar to No. 1 above, with addition of checkerboard pattern on either side of cross-hatching.
5. Brooklyn Museum, 2-37.101L (Pl. 92c). Pattern includes checkerboard squares and diagonal cross-hatching.
6. Brooklyn Museum, 1-37.100L (Pl. 91c). Two groups of three lines around neck cross over chest. On abdomen upright hybrid figure (perhaps Taweret) and a dotted line.
7. Berlin Museum, 6907 (Pl. 91b).¹⁸ Similar to No. 2 above, but has in addition an asphalt face.
8. Berlin Museum, 10176. Similar to No. 1 above, with addition of two necklaces.
9. Beni Hasan, tomb 01.2.¹⁹ Wood. Similar to No. 2 above. But hair is much more plentiful: the strands of string have beads of clay at various intervals.

¹³Provenance unknown. Purchased. Base: 12.1 cm. x 6 cm. Height: 28.4 cm. Unpublished. Cf. Cleveland Museum of Art, *Inaugural Catalogue*, p. 340 of the Illustrated Edition, text, p. 206, No. 22.

¹⁴Provenance not stated. Berlin, *Ausf. Verzeichnis* (1899), p. 106.

¹⁵Provenance not stated. Colored wax. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

¹⁶Provenance not stated. Faïence. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

¹⁷Provenance unknown. Purchased. Wood. Height: 22.5 cm. Unpublished.

¹⁸Berlin, *Ausf. Verzeichnis* (1899), p. 106.

¹⁹Height: 15 cm. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 150, p. 152.

10. New York University, W 172.3.²⁰ Similar to No. 1 above. Pubic triangle bounded by three straight black lines and covered with black dots filling the area of the triangle. Horizontal band above pubic area decorated with alternate black and red dots in a single line. From this band to the level of the armpits runs an alternately red and black herringbone pattern. A black necklace adorns the neck, and is tied in back; attached to the necklace in front is the red figure outlined in black, of an upright hybrid figure, which might represent the goddess, Taweret. A similar animal appears on No. 6 above. The rectangular projection at the neck may have had strings of beads attached to it, and may have had an asphalt face, if we may judge by the very similar example in the Berlin Museum, No. 7 above. The reverse side is perfectly plain, except for the necklace. Left arm missing; right arm partly preserved. It is doubtful whether the arms were much longer than the present short right arm.

Type 6. Nude woman carrying goblet on right shoulder.

1. Berlin Museum, 10833 (Pl. 90c).²¹ Middle Kingdom. Red clay. No feet. Long headdress reaching below shoulder.

Type 7. Nude women on beds. Women seated on beds are found in the Pre-dynastic period. Examples of nude women lying on beds continue into Ptolemaic times.²²

1. Negade, grave 1470.²³ Clay woman seated on a model clay bed.
 2. Negade, grave B 120.²⁴ Similar to No. 1 above.
 3. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum, 1904 (Pl. 93a).²⁵ Nude lying on a bed. Part of headdress lies beneath shoulders, part on chest. Arms are at sides. Figure is in high raised relief.
 4. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 15.2.8 (Pl. 93b).²⁶ This nude female lies on her left side, her head supported by a headrest, her right arm bent so that the forearm is across the middle, and the right arm rests on the side. Her feet are against the raised foot of the bed. The eyes are open. Colors: traces of red paint on head-rest and bed, and of black paint on hair and eyes.
 5. Brooklyn Museum, 14.606 (Pl. 93c).²⁷ Nude female lies on back on bed, with feet up against foot of same, and arms at side. Beside her right leg lies an infant in the same position. The woman's hair reaches down in front and in back well over the shoulders. She wears a necklace.

²⁰Purchased from John Khayat in 1938.

²¹Provenance not stated. Berlin, *Ausf. Verzeichnis*, p. 107.

²²Cf. Nos. 37.590L, 16.103, and 16.104 in Brooklyn Museum. Unpublished.

²³Petrie-Quibell, *Nagada and Ballas*, pl. XXXVI, No. 83, text, p. 41; Capart, *Prim. Art*, p. 220. According to Petrie, a clay female figure was found actually seated on the couch.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 41.

²⁵Provenance not stated. Limestone. Length: 32 cm. Roeder, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

²⁶Provenance unknown. Purchased at Rustafjaell Sale. Limestone. Length of bed: 17.2 cm.; Height of bed and figure: 8.1 cm.; width: 6.5 cm. Cf. H. E. Winlock, *The Private Life of the Ancient Egyptians* (Picture Book), fig. 5, lower view.

²⁷From excavations of Egypt Exploration Society at Sawama, 1913-1914. Height: 7.7 cm. Terra cotta.

II. WOMEN WITH CHILDREN

Type 1. Women carrying children.

1. Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum.²⁸ Fifth dynasty. Limestone.
 2. Berlin Museum, 14517 (Pl. 94c).²⁹ Middle Kingdom. Nude standing woman holding infant at left side just above hip: woman's left arm is around child's back; her right hand grasps lower part of child's left leg. Child's right leg is across lower part of woman's back. Woman lacks feet. Her headdress reaches to the shoulders in front; in back her head has been partly shaved, and her headdress falls down further in the unshaved portions in three long thick braids.
 3. Berlin Museum, 12764 (Pl. 94b).³⁰ Very similar to No. 2 above.
 4. Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museum, 1911.260.³¹ Twelfth dynasty. Wood. Woman wearing a long embroidered skirt, and carrying on her back a child suspended in a shawl over her shoulders: the shawl crosses in front. The infant's head is visible looking out, and is attached by a short peg. The woman's hair is rather short. On top of her head is a small hole, suggesting that probably she carried a head load. Her features are best described as characterized by a long nose and protruding chin and lips. Garstang has identified her as a Libyan woman. Professor Jean Capart and Dr. Cyril Aldred³² are inclined to classify her as a Syrian immigrant, of Semitic race, because the pattern and color of her dress are not greatly unlike those on the garments of Semitic immigrants in the tomb of Khnemhotp at Beni Hasan.³³

Type 2. A squatting woman nursing a child.

1. New York, Metropolitan Museum, 26.7.1405.³⁴ Fifth dynasty. Limestone. A woman in painted limestone is seated cross-legged. She nurses the little girl whom she holds in her lap. A small boy kneels at her right side and pulls down the woman's right breast to his mouth.³⁵ The woman wears a loin cloth and a heavy wig.³⁶

²⁸Excavated by Steindorff, from the tomb of Reherka, Mastaba D 37 at Giza. I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. William Stevenson Smith, who brought it to my attention. Cf. W. S. Smith, *Sculpture*, pl. 27a-b, text, p. 58.

²⁹Provenance not stated. Height: 12 cm. Limestone. Fechheimer, *Kleinplastik*, fig. 30; Scharff, *Altertümer*, II, fig. 34, (right), p. 51.

³⁰Provenance not stated. No measurements available, but about same size as No. 2 above. Berlin, *Ausf. Verzeichnis*, p. 106; Scharff, *Altertümer*, II, fig. 34 (left), p. 51.

³¹From Beni Hasan, tomb 181 (of Useri). Height: 15 cm. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 138, p. 140.

³²As reported to me by Dr. Aldred.

³³Cf. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. 31.

³⁴Height: 10.5 cm. From a tomb on the desert plateau, near Giza. It was purchased for the Carnarvon Collection from Nicholas Tano, who maintained that it was discovered with and belonged to the Nikauanupe group. If that is so, it was part of a large number of limestone servant figures (*vide supra*). It was presented to the Metropolitan Museum by Edward S. Harkness in 1926. In the *Carnarvon Catalogue* it bore the No. 1173. In the *Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue*, 1922, it appears as No. 18 on p. 76 and in pl. XIII. Cf. W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, pl. 27 d, text, p. 101.

³⁵It is well to recall that even as recently as in our grandmothers' days children were frequently nursed until some time after they had learned to walk.

³⁶The English archaeologist, Dr. Hornblower, very strangely dates this piece to the "archaizing Saitic period," of which not a single servant statue has come down to us! Cf. *JEA* 15, 1929, p. 43.

III. EARLY TOMB FIGURES OF WOMEN WHOSE SPECIAL DUTIES FOR THE DECEASED MAY NOT BE DETERMINED.

Type 1. Steatopygous women in mud, clay, and ivory. Pre-dynastic.

1. Ballas.³⁷ Clay, seated, kneeling. Feet drawn up under body, but thrown over slightly to the figure's right. Comparatively narrow waist. No arms. Very thick thighs and wide hips. Large pendant breasts. Clay is light-colored, painted red. Traces of black paint over the red on breasts and thighs. Four black stripes down side of face. Roughly cut mouth. Round hole in top of head. Berlin Museum 12767 is very similar (Pl. 95b).³⁸
2. Negade.³⁹ Perhaps seated. Legs together, but stretched straight out. Back and left shoulder blade decorated with antelope with wavy horns. Over right shoulder, a striped band, ending in an hour glass figure. Across the pelvis, an enclosure with a plant (?) in black and blue. Left eye normal, right eye upright. Two parallel green lines join in beak, with black line between. Traces of spotty necklace. Below necklace, traces of black design. Prominent pubic edge. Wide black patch to middle of thighs. Bands of parallel lines on ankles. Small breasts. Feet present (sole known example of this in this type).

Type 2. Mud figurine modelled around a reed or reed-shaped wooden core. Pre-dynastic.

1. Abadiyeh, grave B 101.⁴⁰ Nude. Head and feet lacking. Arms free, but largely broken off. Thin waist. Full breasts. Comparatively large hips.
2. Negade.⁴¹ Similar to 1 above, except that arms were never modelled. Broad horizontal black painted band across pubic area. Semi-circular red painted area on chest. Eyes and eyebrows painted on. No feet. Legs not differentiated.
3. Negade, grave 1546.⁴² Five figures (Nos. 29-33). Nos. 29 and 30 have removable wigs. Nos. 31 and 32 are wigs from similar figures found at Negade. No. 30 is entirely colored red, with black eyes, four black V-lines parallel across chest, suggesting necklaces, four black crossing lines on back; black spots suggest a girdle around hips; no trace of clothing in the modelling or painting, but remains of linen were sticking to the figure from below the breasts; having a separate wig suggests having a separate dress. No. 29 is similar but less full in form.
4. Berlin Museum, 14161.⁴³ Smooth, fairly round head with a pointed area instead of a nose. Wide shoulders. No arms. Triangular chest and narrow waist. Pointed, firm breasts. Wide hips. Legs not differentiated. Feet lacking and probably never

³⁷Height: 20.3 cm.; breadth across back of hips: 14.6 cm.; length of thigh: 17.1 cm.; depth of hole in top of head: 3.2 cm.; diameter of hole: 1.3 cm. Petrie-Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. VI, 1-3, text, p. 13, paragraph 29.

³⁸Scharff, *Altertümer*, II, pl. 12, No. 55, text, p. 36.

³⁹Petrie, *Preh. Eg.*, pl. V, 1-3, text, pp. 8-9. Other examples on pls. IV-VI.

⁴⁰Petrie, *Diospolis Parva*, pl. V, B 101, left, text, p. 33.

⁴¹Petrie-Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, pl. LIX, 11, text, p. 46.

⁴²Petrie, *Preh. Eg.*, pl. XLV, 29-33, of which Nos. 31 and 32 are from grave 1546, Negade; text, p. 7, paragraph 14.

⁴³From Gebelein. Length: 21.3 cm. Cf. Scharff, *Altertümer*, II, pl. 15, No. 70, text, p. 45-46.

shown. Several breaks in the figure, disclosing the reed core. Numerous traces of red on the dark brown mud. Lighter color on the eyelids and a strip about the waist. The figure probably had a removable (now lost) wig.

5. Berlin Museum, 14597.⁴⁴ Formed over a reed. Upper part of body lacking. Traces of red color on surface. Traces of black, as though depicting a girdle, below hips. Head has forward projection to indicate nose. Eyes painted in black with white borders. Scharff (*Altertümer*, II, p. 11), admitting that this would be the only example, is inclined to date the piece in the first three dynasties. In style and type it would seem to belong to pre-dynastic period. The surface is smoother than previous examples, and the eyes are smaller proportionately.

Type 3. Clay figures with naturalistically modelled heads and bodies. Women appear to be much more numerous than men.

1. Abydos, grave U 21.⁴⁵ Pottery. The head may not belong to the same figure, as it seems to be masculine, while the torso is feminine.
2. Woman with large breasts, apparently wearing long garment starting from below them.⁴⁶

IV. EARLY TOMB FIGURES OF MEN WHOSE SPECIAL DUTIES FOR THE DECEASED MAY NOT BE DETERMINED.

Type 1. Elongated men, in ivory.

1. El-Mahâsna, grave H 29.⁴⁷ Ivory man. Tops marked by slight incisions at end of leg. No projection indicating the foot. Top of head high. No hair indicated. Ears protruding on either side. Slit for mouth. Eyes in form of small cylindrical blue glazed steatite beads. Broad beard over chin. Nude except for Libyan sheath. Arms at side. Whole figure very long and narrow.
2. Brooklyn Museum, 35.1268.⁴⁸ Ivory. Very similar to 1 above (Pl. 95c).

Type 2. Clay figures with beaked heads. Eyes often indicated by paint.

1. Berlin Museum, 13806 (Pl. 49c).⁴⁹ Right arm raised.
2. Brooklyn Museum, 35.1269.⁵⁰ Small terra-cotta figure with usual beaked head (Pl. 95a).

Type 3. Clay figures with naturalistically modelled heads and bodies.

1. Abadiyeh, grave U 96.⁵¹ Left hand on hip. Right arm raised toward the front. Legs broken off, but probably separated from each other.

⁴⁴Provenance unknown. Length: 17 cm. Scharff, *Altertümer*, II, pl. 15, No. 72, text, pp. 46-47.

⁴⁵Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, II, pl. IV, No. 6, text, p. 16. Peet says it is a man. But the breasts are those of a woman.

⁴⁶Petrie, *Preh. Eg.*, pl. III, 4, text, p. 8. Provenance unknown.

⁴⁷Ayrton-Loat, *Predynastic Cemetery at El Mahasna*, pl. XI, I, center, text, pp. 11 and 26.

⁴⁸Provenance unknown. Formerly in Von Bissing collection, Scheurleer Museum, The Hague, Holland. Length: 17.9 cm.; greatest width: 1.8 cm. Von Bissing, *Revue Archéologique*, Paris, 4th series, tome XV (1910), fig. 14, and 14a, p. 247.

⁴⁹From Negade. Scharff, *Altertümer*, II, pl. 10, No. 50, text, p. 33; other similar figures in Petrie, *Preh. Eg.*, pl. IV, 3-5, 7, V, 6; Petrie-Quibell, *Naqada*, pl. XXXVI, 95, 96; Garstang, *El Mahâsna*, pl. III, L209.

⁵⁰From Negade. Formerly in Von Bissing Collection, Scheurleer Museum, The Hague, Holland. Height: 15.7 cm.; width at shoulders: 5.7 cm. Cf. Von Bissing, *Revue Archéologique*, Paris, 1910, 4th series, tome XV, (1910) figs. 6 and 7, p. 245.

⁵¹Petrie, *Preh. Eg.*, pl. 45, No. 43; *Diospolis Parva*, pl. V, U 96, pl. X, No. 17, text p. 36.

Type 4. Nile-mud figurine modelled around reed or reed-shaped wooden core.

1. El Amrah, grave a 94.⁵² No arms or feet. Cylindrical body. Shoulders present. Wears Libyan sheath. Bearded. Curly black hair painted on head, as well as eyes and eyebrows. Three lines laid on in black on white ground, signifying an accessory of dress.
2. Berlin Museum, 14162.⁵³ Long head. Headdress not removable, but rendered through small lumps. Nose indicated by pointing up the area of the face. Triangular, flat chest. Wide shoulders. No arms. Small hips. Legs not differentiated and quite thin. No feet. Posterior slightly modelled. Traces of red on body. Hair and perhaps eyes black. Two black lines in front and in back on upper part of body, running from side of the neck under the shoulder on the same side and back to the neck. Libyan sheath indicated by thick, black asphalt-like color. Piece of paste at lower end of chin lacking, may have indicated beard.

V. OTHER EARLY FIGURES FROM TOMBS WHICH MAY BE SERVANT STATUES.

Type 1. Woman (?) in black stone.

1. Berlin Museum, 19080.⁵⁴ Standing, with hands together on chest. Upper arms differentiated from the back. Large round head, with emphasis upon the rear portion. Face wide above, pointed below. Eyelids in relief. Ears moderately well formed. Shaven head, except for the sides and one strip falling down the middle of the rear of head. Thick posterior. Two bands about middle, in sunken relief. Short, bowed legs, differentiated by means of a circular hole bored from the front. No indication of sex. Feet separated by a groove. Toes indicated by scratches. Various parts of the body distinguished from each other by being polished.

Type 2. Natural stone in human form.

1. Berlin Museum, 19079.⁵⁵ Unique example of a natural flint in human form. Approximates human body with arms at sides. Region of head damaged.

Type 3. Draped standing woman in ivory.

1. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 01.7367 (Pl. 94a).⁵⁶ Hands touch each other over middle of chest. Hair "bobbed" and parted in middle. Feet lacking. Figure wears garment reaching from shoulders to knees. Petrie considers the owner of tomb B 14 to have been either a queen or daughter of Menes.

⁵²Randall-MacIver, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. XII, 7, text, pp. 16, 41-42.

⁵³From Gebelein. Length: 18.2 cm. Cf. Scharff, *Altertümer*, II, pl. 15, No. 71, text, p. 46.

⁵⁴From Abusir el-Meleq, 20 cm. below surface, but not in a burial. Cf. Möller-Scharff, *Abusir el-Meleq*, pl. 39, No. 433, text, p. 62; Scharff, *Altertümer*, II, pl. 15, No. 73, text, pp. 47-48; Ranke, *Art of Ancient Egypt*, fig. 33. Height: 5.7 cm. Scharff (*Abusir el-Meleq*, p. 62) in 1926 says: "aus schwärzlichem Steatit" and in 1929 (*Altertümer*, II, p. 47) "aus grauschwarzem Stein".

⁵⁵From Abusir el-Meleq, grave 1010. Height: 14.2 cm. Cf. Scharff, *Altertümer*, II, pl. 15, No. 74, text, p. 48; Möller-Scharff, *Abusir el-Meleq*, pl. 39, No. 434, text, p. 62. For the purposes of this study this piece is dated to the burial in which it was found. Since it is a natural stone, it may, of course, have been in use for generations.

⁵⁶From Abydos, Tomb B 14. First dynasty. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. III A, No. 8, text, pp. 5 and 21. Cf. W. S. Smith, *op. cit.* p. 6, fig. 7, p. 5.

VI. MEN WITH DOGS.

1. Harvard-Boston Expedition, G 7715, Reg. No. 2-6-934 (Pl. 94e).⁵⁷ Fifth dynasty. Limestone. A squatting man seems to be feeding a dog from his mouth. There is one parallel in the reliefs.⁵⁸ On the north wall of the pillared hall of the mastaba of Kagemni,⁵⁹ a man seated on the ground is holding a relatively small animal somewhat resembling a dog, but without the usual long ears of Old-Kingdom dogs; he appears to be feeding the animal; the latter's mouth touches that of the man. In the three-dimensional example from Giza the animal is larger in proportion to the man, and stands on its own four legs. Unfortunately, the neck and almost all of the head are missing. The extreme forward tip of the jaws is preserved, and touches the man's mouth. I make the far-fetched suggestion that the Egyptians may have developed a method of partial premastication for sickly or delicate animals. It may have involved first mixing the food with human saliva. But this suggestion is purely speculation, as there is no evidence beyond the two examples already quoted.
2. Beni Hasan, tomb 487 (of Senbu).⁶⁰ Twelfth dynasty. A crude squatting rather ape-like human figure faces an animal which may represent a dog. The theme is probably that of a man playing with a dog, and must be in the same general tradition as the much earlier example from the Old Kingdom. (See also Berlin Museum 13629, Pl. 94d.)

VII. FIGURES OF ARMED RETAINERS.

Type 1. Marching soldiers.⁶¹

It is probably not a coincidence that the earliest representations of soldiers in the round date from a period of anarchy, when each feudal lord had to maintain his local sovereignty by force of arms. Model soldiers were put also in Middle-Kingdom tombs. All examples are of wood.

1. Cairo Museum, 258.⁶² Company of forty spearmen, each with shield, marching by fours.⁶³ They are later than the group of forty bowmen, No. 2 below. They wear short wigs, which protect the head like a helmet or stuffed cap. Each has a very short skirt tied by a band above and open in front, with a strip hanging down at the open section. Each man's military equipment consists of: a spear as long as the height of an average man; a dagger; a shield shaped like a Gothic window with a rectangular base. Each spear has a copper blade shaped like a willow leaf, thicker down the middle, with a raised central ridge; each blade was tied to the

⁵⁷From Giza. Height: 8.5 cm.; length: 10 cm. Cf. W. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, pl. 28d, p. 101.

⁵⁸I am indebted to Dr. W. S. Smith for drawing my attention to this. Professor Ranke suggests that the dog may be "kissing" his master.

⁵⁹Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pl. 52, upper register, third figure from the right.

⁶⁰Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 144, right, p. 146. Earthenware.

⁶¹Cf. Klebs, *RMR*, pp. 154-158.

⁶²From Asyüt, tomb of Mesehti. Discovered by robbers in 1895. Ninth-Tenth dynasty. Length: 193 cm. Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 56, text, p. 165; Grébaut, *Le Musée Egyptien*, I, pls. XXXIII-XXXV, text, pp. 31-34.

⁶³The officers were on separate bases, fell into private hands, and are now apparently lost.

shaft with a leather thong in addition to being fastened with a tang. On the march the point was held uppermost, and the hand grasped the shaft at about the middle. The elbow was bent at approximately a right angle in order to carry the spear well ahead. All the infantrymen are barefooted. Individuals vary considerably in height and in facial traits. Modelling of the limbs, especially the knees, is excellent.

2. Cairo Museum, 257.⁶⁴ Company of forty bowmen: a mixed group of Egyptians of varying stature.⁶⁵ Their average height is much lower than that of the spearmen; some of them are even much smaller than average. Several have the same bushy hair as that of the infantrymen, but others wear a wig with stepped rings, one below the other. Their dress consists of a band of leather, painted red with a white border, and decorated elsewhere by white lozenge designs; the garment is short and open in front, with a vertical strip hanging where it is open. The skin color of these men is almost black and suggests that they are to be identified with the traditional Nubian bowmen! The only military equipment carried consists of a bow and a bundle of four arrows. The latter have actual flint points.⁶⁶ Arrows are held in the right hand, bow in the left. On the march the bow is grasped almost at the lower end; thus the left elbow is bent at a right angle, while the right arm varies considerably, being sometimes at the side.
3. Deir el Bahari, tomb No. 5.⁶⁷ Eleventh dynasty. Two figures of black soldiers, each carrying a shield and spear. As several other shields were also found, these figures must have been part of a group somewhat similar to No. 1 above. The shields are modelled after those of real life, with spotted black and white hide.
4. Toronto, Royal Museum of Archaeology.⁶⁸ Twelfth dynasty. Nine soldiers, having white base, eyeballs, and garments; black wigs, and irises; purplish-red skin and weapons; grey-green stripes on garments; lines on top of base.

Type 2. Boats with arms or armed defenders.

1. Cairo Museum.⁶⁹ Wooden-type river boat being rowed downstream, containing amidships a standing warrior holding on his left arm a shield with rounded top and rectangular base, and grasping a battleaxe in his right hand. The shield is covered with black-spotted hide, fastened around the edge with studs.

⁶⁴From Asyūt, tomb of Mesehti. Found under same circumstances as No. 1 above. Length: 193 cm. Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 55, text, pp. 164-165; Grébaut, *Le Musée Egyptien*, I, pls. XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXVI.

⁶⁵Maspero, in Grébaut, *Le Musée Egyptien*, I, text, p. 32, says that there are some Libyans in this group. I have not seen the original. But I find no Libyan beards, feathers in headdress, garments flowing behind, or side lock in published photographs. Cf. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans*, pls. I, II, fig. 12, p. 120.

⁶⁶Modern experiments have proved that chipped flint is even today the most penetrating material for tipping arrows. The fact that in an age when metal was common stone should here be used clearly indicates the Egyptian's respect for an archaic material which experience had shown was best suited for this particular purpose.

⁶⁷Naville, *Eleventh Dynasty Temple*, I, p. 46. Found in burial chamber, which was occupied by a woman.

⁶⁸Said to come from Meir. Purchased from Casira, Cairo. Base: 40.5 cm. x 26 cm. x 2 cm. Height of figures (from top of base): 27 cm.

⁶⁹From Beni Hasan, tomb of Khnem-nekhti (No. 585). Length: 104 cm. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 163, p. 160, detail, fig. 164, right, p. 161.

2. Cairo Museum.⁷⁰ Wooden-type river boat being rowed downstream, containing standing warrior at bow; he holds a shield with his raised left arm; the right arm, which is stretched forward, probably held either a spear or a battleaxe.
3. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.⁷¹ Wooden-type river boat being rowed while sail is being raised, containing an archer standing beside lookout, facing toward star-board side: he is painted black with vivid white eyes, and has been called by Garstang a negro.⁷² He seems to be a little shorter than the Egyptian figures, and his dark skin color must mean that he represents someone from south of the First Cataract. In the left hand he holds a long bow; in the right are two arrows. Protruding from under the canopy is a hide-covered spear case containing several spears. In front of the canopy two seated figures are playing a game akin to draughts.
4. Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 21.407 a-h (Pl. 96a, 96b).⁷³ Wooden-type river boat with conventional steersman, lookout, and rowers, containing in addition two shields and a long spear case full of spears, amidships between the oarsmen. A mooring stake and a mallet lie on the deck. The function of this craft was probably that of an armed dispatch boat.
5. London, British Museum, 35293 (Pl. 97a).⁷⁴ Wooden-type long river boat being paddled downstream, containing thirteen figures somewhat unusually arranged, and two spotted-hide shields amidships;⁷⁵ near the stern stand five women, each with left arm bent to shoulder level; wearing a long garment, owner is seated beside the two large shields, and faces toward the stern. The six paddlers face toward the bow.

⁷⁰From Beni Hasan, tomb of Thau (No. 186). Length: 66 cm. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 73, p. 85, fig. 164, left, p. 161.

⁷¹Also from tomb of Thau. Length: 93 cm. Garstang, *op. cit.*, fig. 157, p. 157, fig. 149, p. 151.

⁷²*Op. cit.*, p. 158.

⁷³From El Bersheh, tomb of Dehuti-nekht, pit 10A. Length: 116.5 cm. Dunham, *MFA Bull.*, Aug. 1921, p. 45.

⁷⁴Provenance not stated. British Museum, *Guide to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms*, p. 118, No. 64.

⁷⁵A rowing boat in the Metropolitan Museum, 11.150.11, from Meir, is manned entirely by soldiers, whose shields are stacked amidships (Pl. 97b).

CHAPTER VIII

SERVANT FIGURES PERFORMING UNIDENTIFIED TASKS

I. OLD KINGDOM SERVANT FIGURES.

A. Fifth dynasty. Limestone.

1. Harvard-Boston Expedition, G 2088, Reg. No. 38-4-17 (Pl. 98a).¹ All that remains is a rectangular flat-topped table with horizontal bars to strengthen the legs. The human figure has been entirely destroyed except for the right hand, which grasps one edge of the top of the table.²
2. Cairo Museum 329.³ The man kneels, so that his toes and knees touch the ground, and his buttocks rest on his heels. The upper portion of the body leans forward somewhat. The left arm is not free; the left hand is open, with the palm held upward. Such a pose is difficult to explain. The right arm is entirely free. According to Borchardt, the right hand grasps a scraper-like object with which something is being scraped upon a raised platform in front of the figure. Running across the narrow dimension of the raised platform is a slight step, which makes the half of the platform away from the figure a little higher. Only a short skirt is worn. Not much color survives: skin, reddish brown, skirt, white, base, reddish (?) in the main and white (?) toward the front.
3. Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum, 2571 (Pl. 99).⁴ Badly damaged male figure bending over forward. The following parts are missing: hands well above the wrists, feet above the ankles, and the base. A wig which hides the ears is worn, and a white skirt. Very broad features.

¹From Giza. Height: 14.5 cm.; length: 20 cm.

²A possible parallel occurs in a relief scene (Cf. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, zweite Abteilung, pl. 9, lower drawing, fourth register from bottom, fourth figure from left.)

³Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, pl. 58, text, pp. 188-189; Mar., *Alb. Phot.*, Pl. 20. In the last-named reference this piece appears with its head, which is now lost.

⁴Height: 21 cm. From the serdab of the tomb of Zasha; discovered in 1905.

4. Chicago, Oriental Institute, 10632 (Pl. 98b). Consisting of two parts, both of which belong to the Nikauanupe group.⁵
 - a. Two figures squatting opposite each other on the same base.⁶ The head of one figure is gone; he squats with his knees drawn up outside the arms. Most of the other squatting figure is lacking: everything except the feet and the buttocks (?). But from remains it is clear that this second figure was larger than the first, and that the legs were not drawn up as close to the body, since the feet are some distance from the buttocks. The end of the base nearest the better preserved figure is rectangular, the other end rounded.
 - b. A squatting man.⁷ The following parts are missing: head, buttocks, hands, feet, right arm from above the elbow, left arm from wrist, right leg from ankle, and left leg from below knee. The left arm was broken between the wrist and elbow, and is now mended. A piece from the left shoulder is also lacking. The clothing consists of a short skirt (?) and a shirt which passes over the left shoulder, leaving the right shoulder exposed. In view of the nature of the breaks it appears reasonably probable that this piece belongs with (a) above. The whole question hinges on whether perhaps the so-called "buttocks" of the badly damaged figure in No. 4 (a) are not really the base of a simple stool or block seat on which No. 4 (b) sat. I think it might even be possible not to presuppose a seat of any kind, and to find that with the restoration of the missing parts No. 4 (b) constitutes in large measure the missing portion of No. 4 (a).
5. Cairo Museum, 326.⁸ Female sitting on a base. The knees are drawn up high. Originally the right arm lay forward on the right side of the right leg. The lower part of the left arm was horizontal. In back the base is rectangular. A short skirt is worn. The colors remaining indicate that the skin was yellow, the skirt white, the base black. Considerable portions are lacking.
6. Cairo Museum, 327.⁹ The pose is similar to No. 5 above. The figure has pendant breasts. In front of the woman is a low raised platform whose purpose is not recognizable. Only traces of yellow skin color remain. Again, much is lacking.
7. Cairo Museum, 328.¹⁰ Head of a woman. The upper portion of the headdress is covered with a kerchief or protective cap, leaving the sides of the hair exposed. This covering suggests that the woman may have been engaged in grinding grain.

⁵Unfortunately, the two parts are not exhibited with the Nikauanupe group and have been packed away. As all efforts to find them were of no avail, I know them only from a photograph.

⁶Height: 6.3 cm.; width: 7.5 cm.; length: 14.6 cm.

⁷Height: 6.3 cm.; width: 5.2 cm.; length: 4.7 cm.

⁸Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, text, pp. 187-188. Provenance unknown. Height: 23 cm.

⁹Cf. Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, text, p. 188. Provenance unknown. Height: 22.5 cm. Fragmentary female seated on a base.

¹⁰Cf. Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, text, p. 188. Provenance unknown. Height: 9 cm.

8. Fragments: Cairo Museum, 344, 528.¹¹

B. Sixth dynasty. Wood.

1. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum, 2520.¹² Apparently a male figure. The legs are missing. The present composition of the figure is formic acid and sand. For an explanation of how this came about, see footnote 25, p. 22.

II. MIDDLE-KINGDOM SERVANT FIGURES.

1. London, British Museum, 52948.¹³ Twelfth dynasty. Three men, each with left leg forward, walk one behind the other: no feet are indicated, as if they were walking in mud. The left arm in each case is at the side, and the hand has been bored in order to hold some object. In each instance the right arm is bent at slightly more than a right angle, and the hand holds what appears to be a beater of some sort. Each beater is yellow with brown lines of cross-hatching. The men wear short black headdresses and white skirts. Their skin is deep red. Each figure has a yellow ring painted on the top of the head.
2. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 13.3657 (Pl. 98c).¹⁴ Perhaps a woman as the skin color is yellow. The face is unfinished, and the whole figure is crude. She stands with both arms reaching toward or into a rounded red object, possibly an oven, standing on a tray-like platform which in turn rests on an approximately cubical block. Both the figure and the raised object are on a single base.

¹¹Cf. Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, text, 190; II, text, p. 82. Length: 9 cm.; 13.5 cm. Provenance unknown.

¹²From the tomb of the Vizier, Idu I, at Giza; discovered by Junker in 1914. This tomb is dated to the early Sixth dynasty. Roeder, *Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums*, p. 56. I can find no reference to this specific piece in Junker's own account of his 1914 excavation: Junker, "Vorbericht über die dritte Grabung bei den Pyramiden von Gizeh vom 3. Januar bis 23. April 1914, in *Anzeiger der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, 51. Jahrgang 1914, No. XIV, pp. 140-183.

¹³Provenance not stated. No measurements available. British Museum, *Guide to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms*, p. 20.

¹⁴From Sheikh Farag, SF 95. Height: 8 cm. Limestone. Unpublished.

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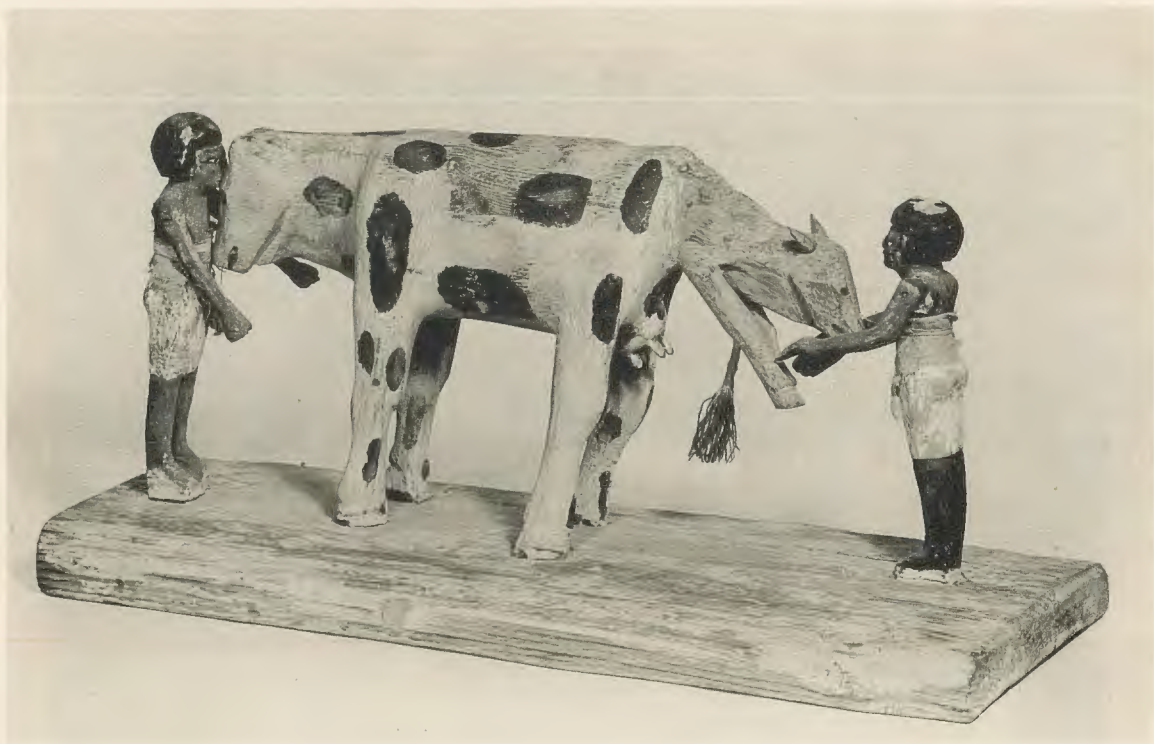
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PLATES





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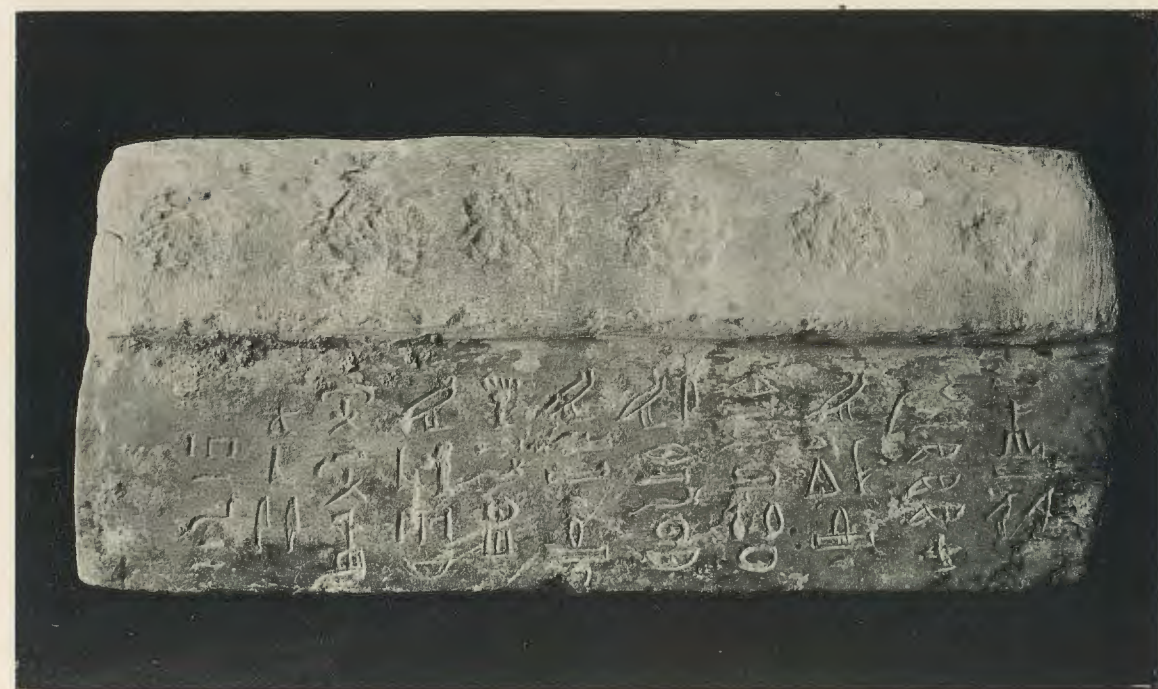
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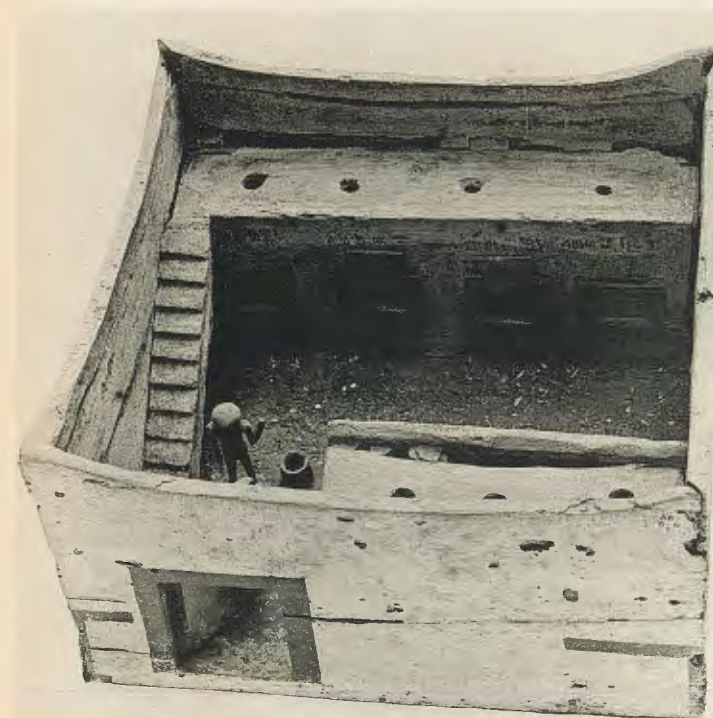
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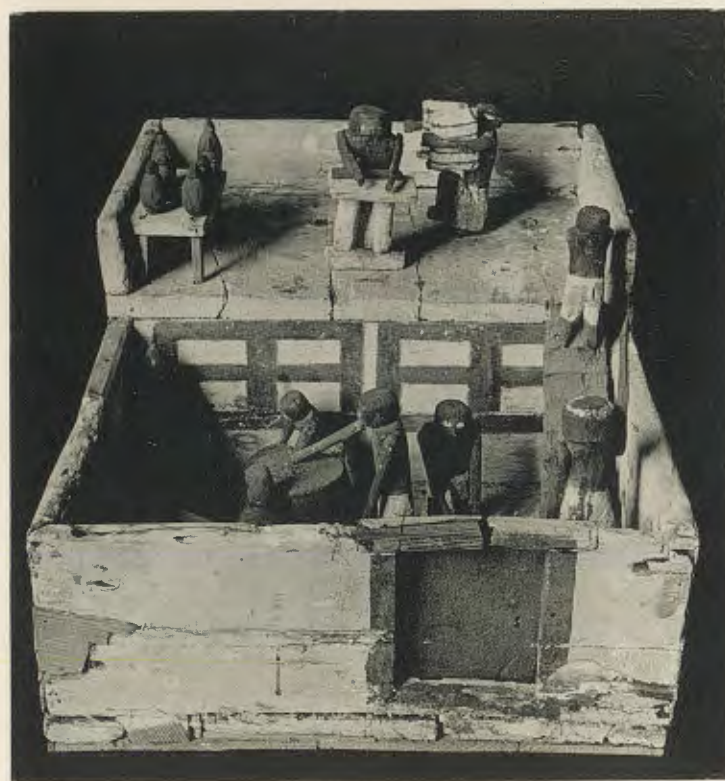
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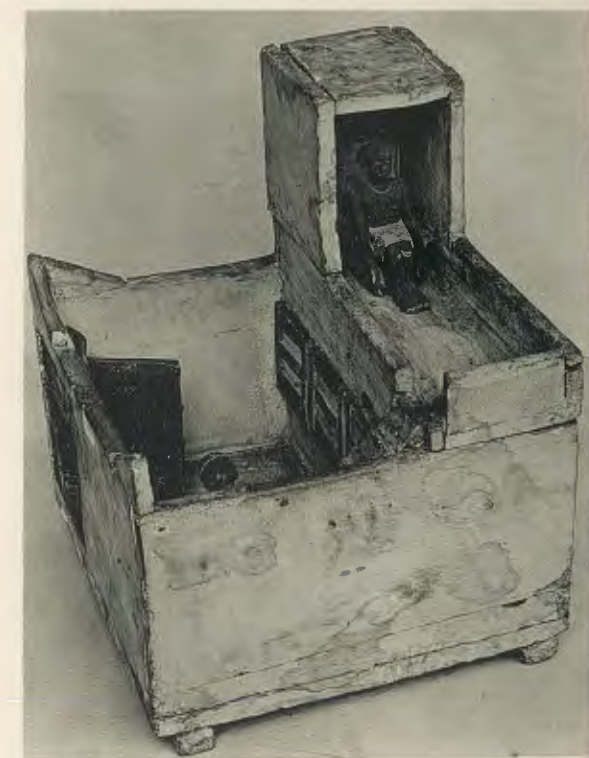
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PL. 13



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PL. 18



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PL. 19



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PL. 20



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PL. 21



PL. 22



PL. 23



PL. 24



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PL. 25



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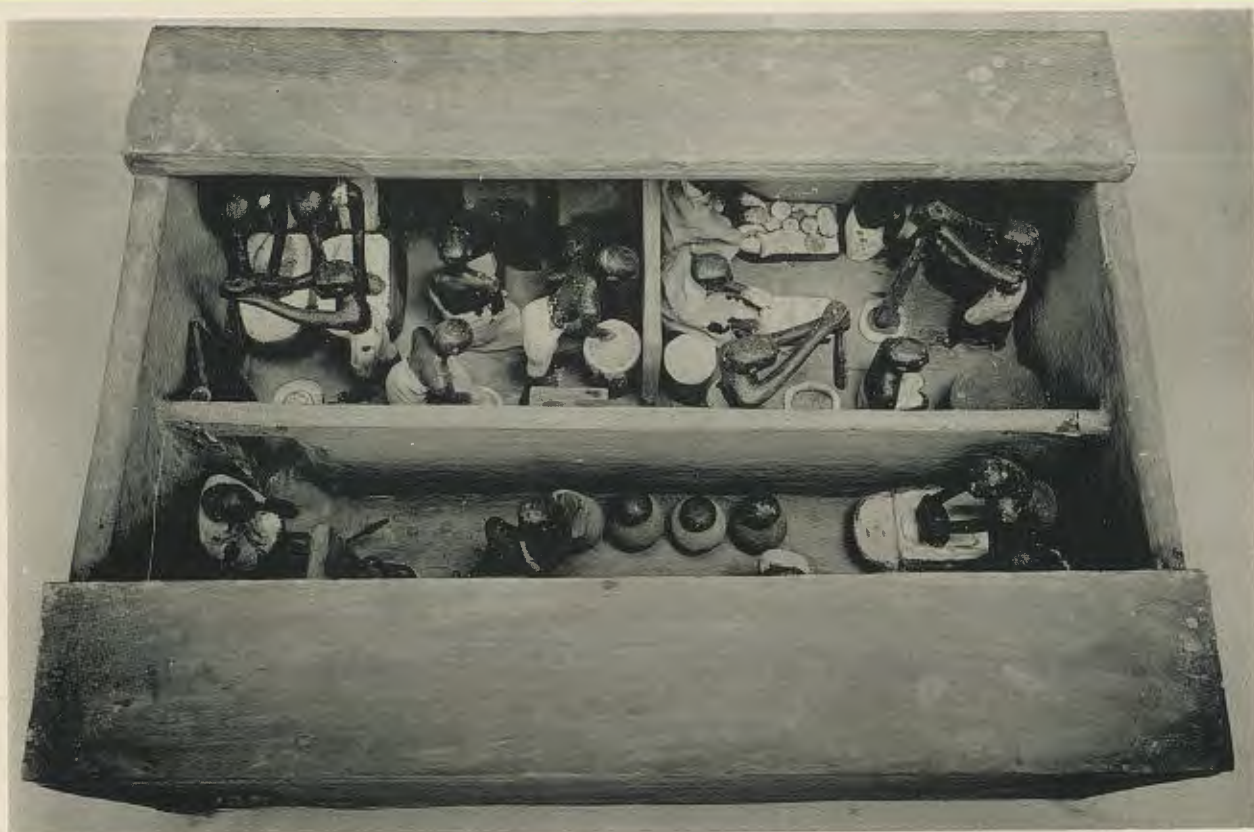


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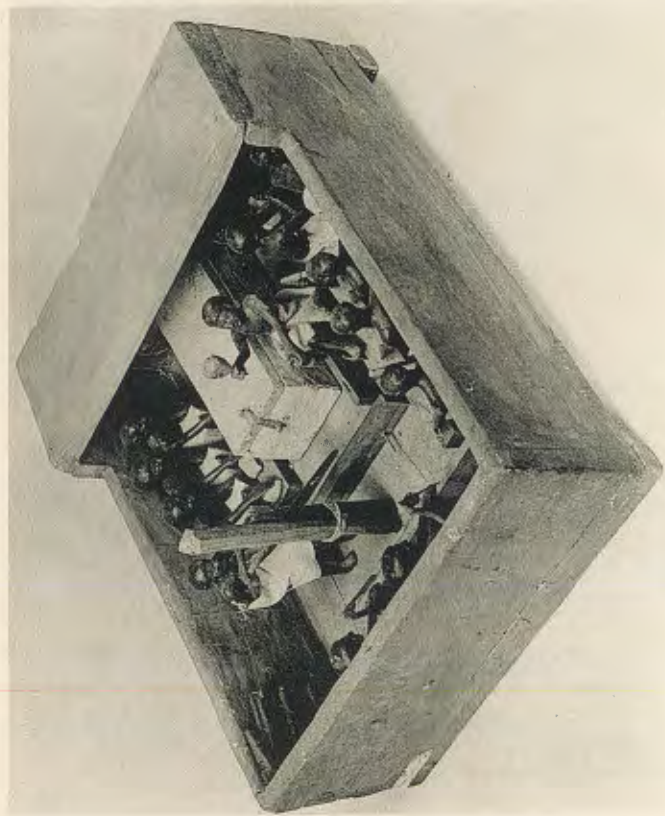
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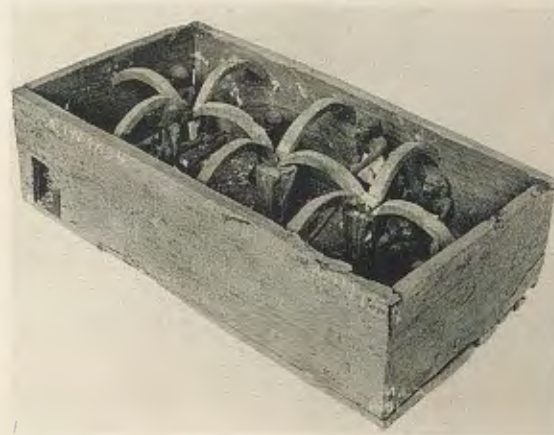
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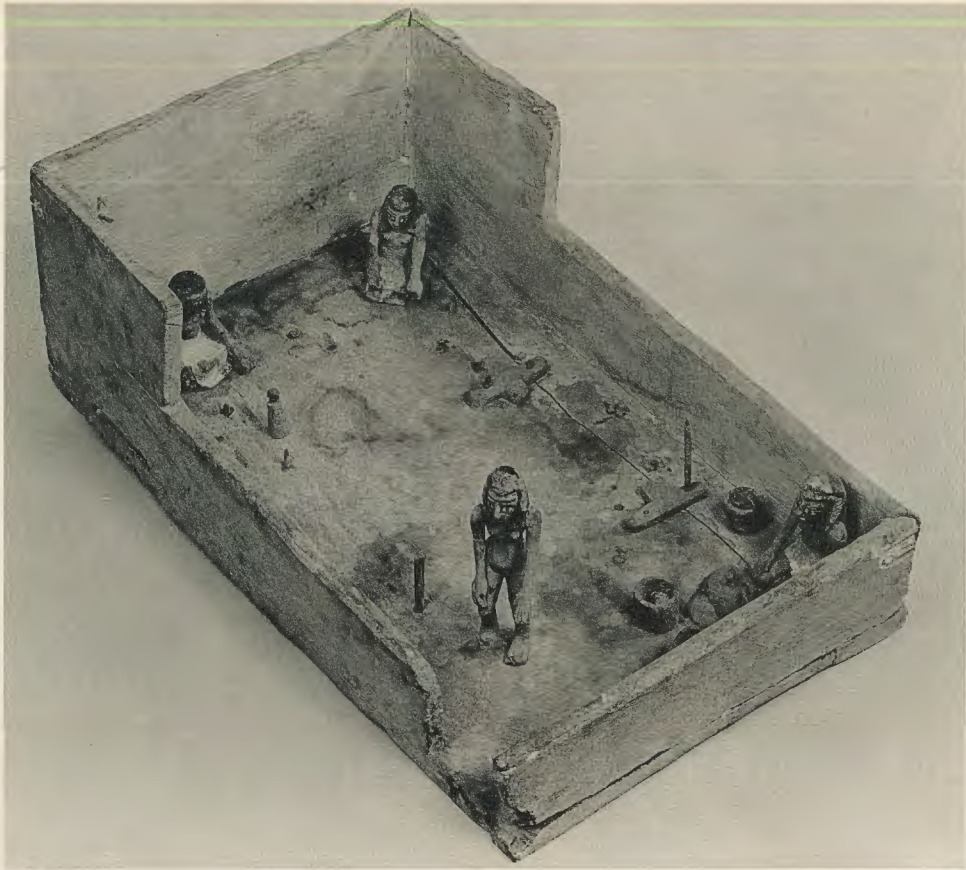


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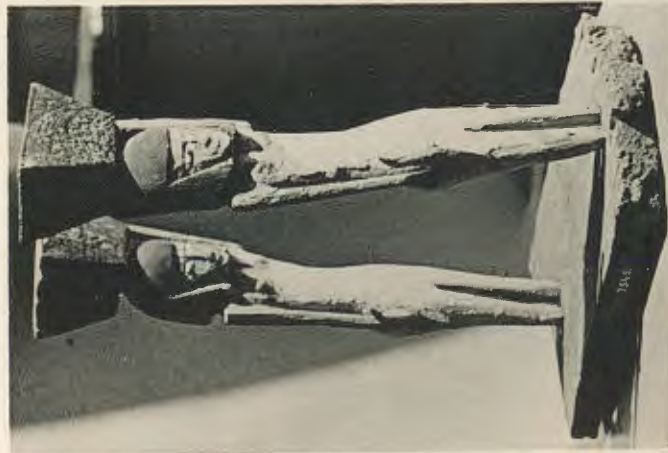
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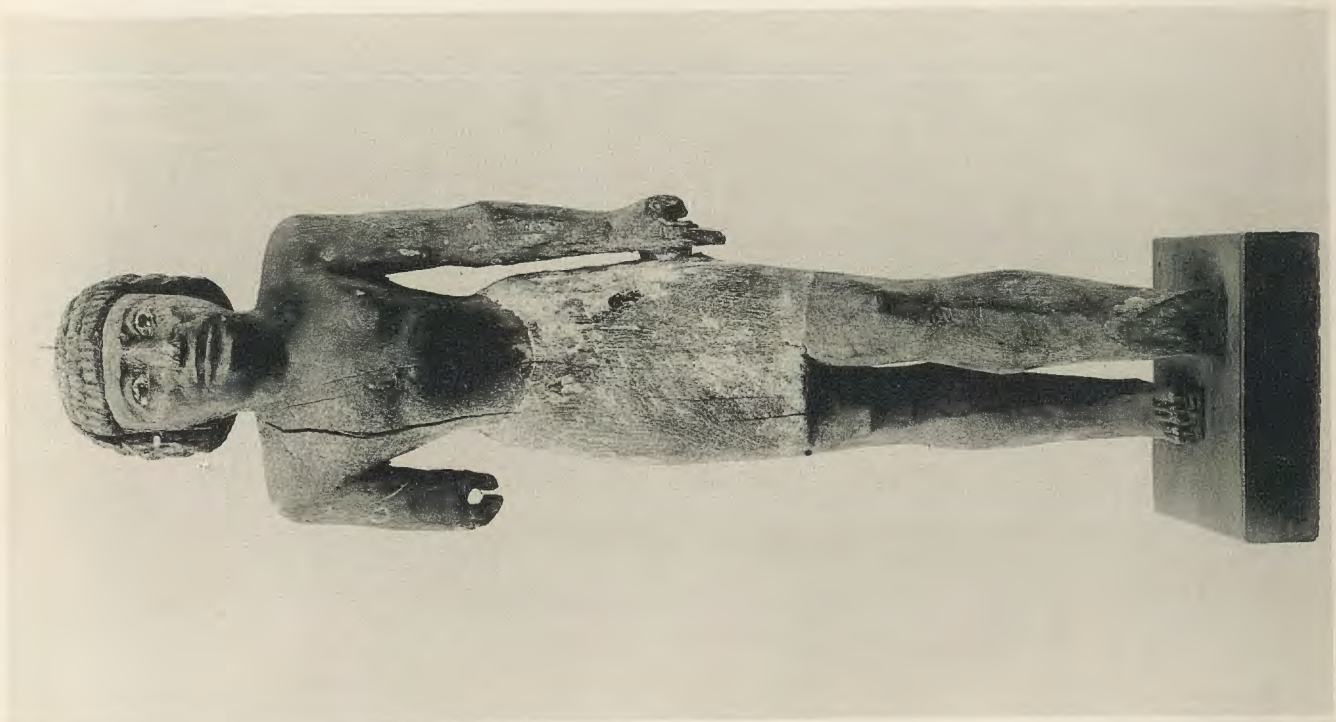


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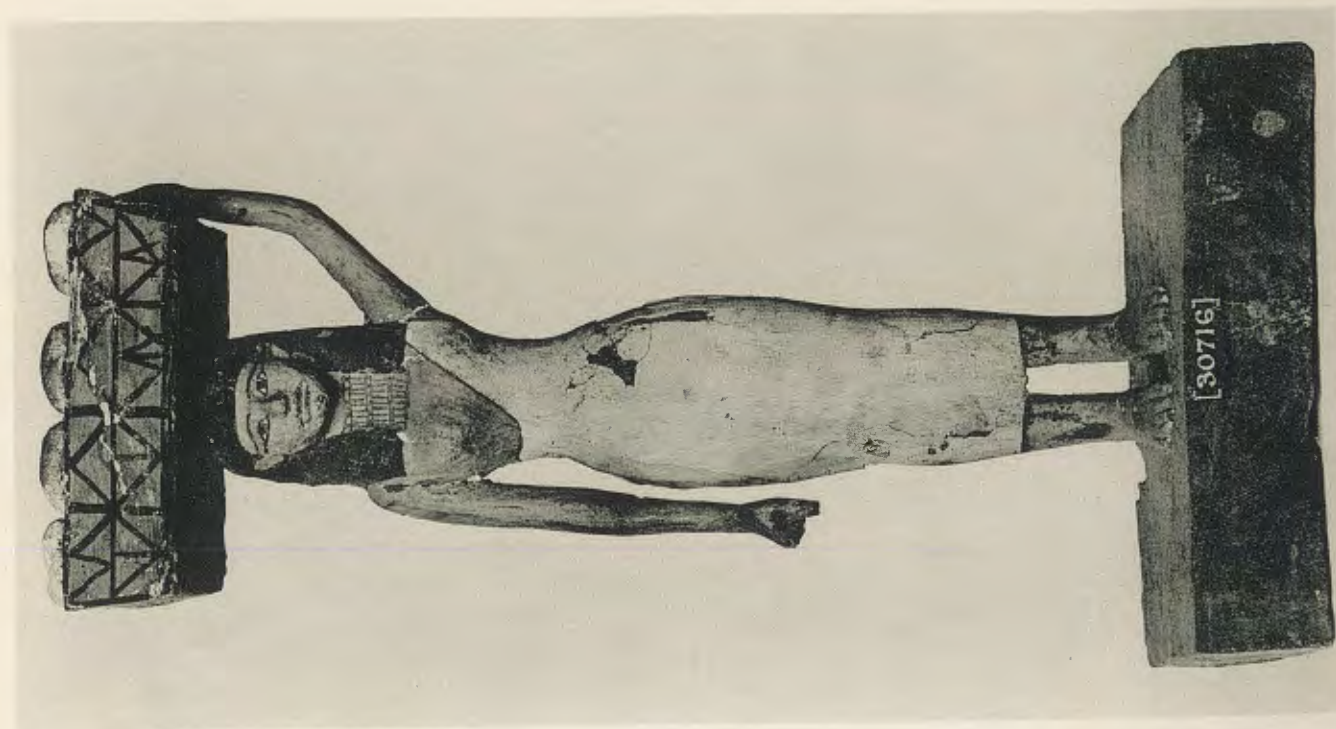


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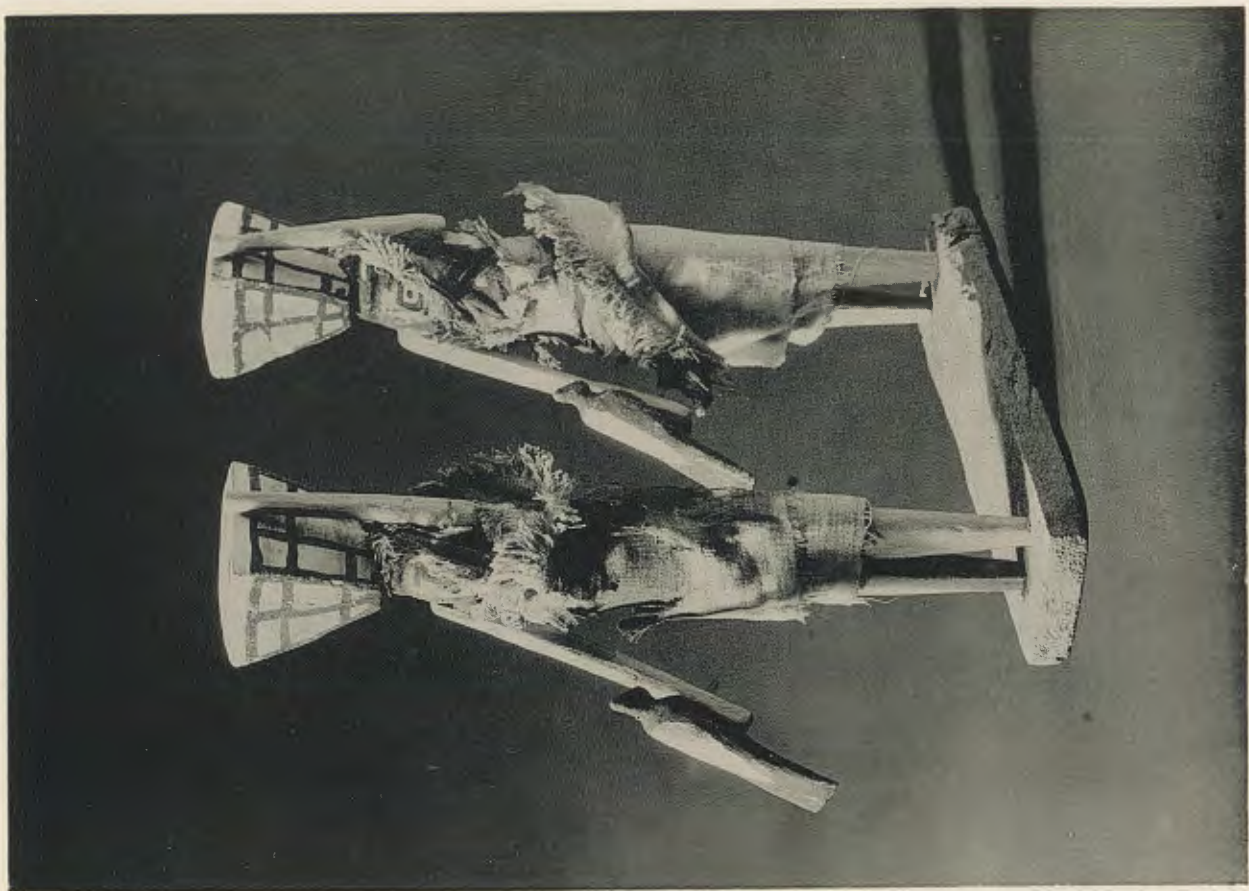




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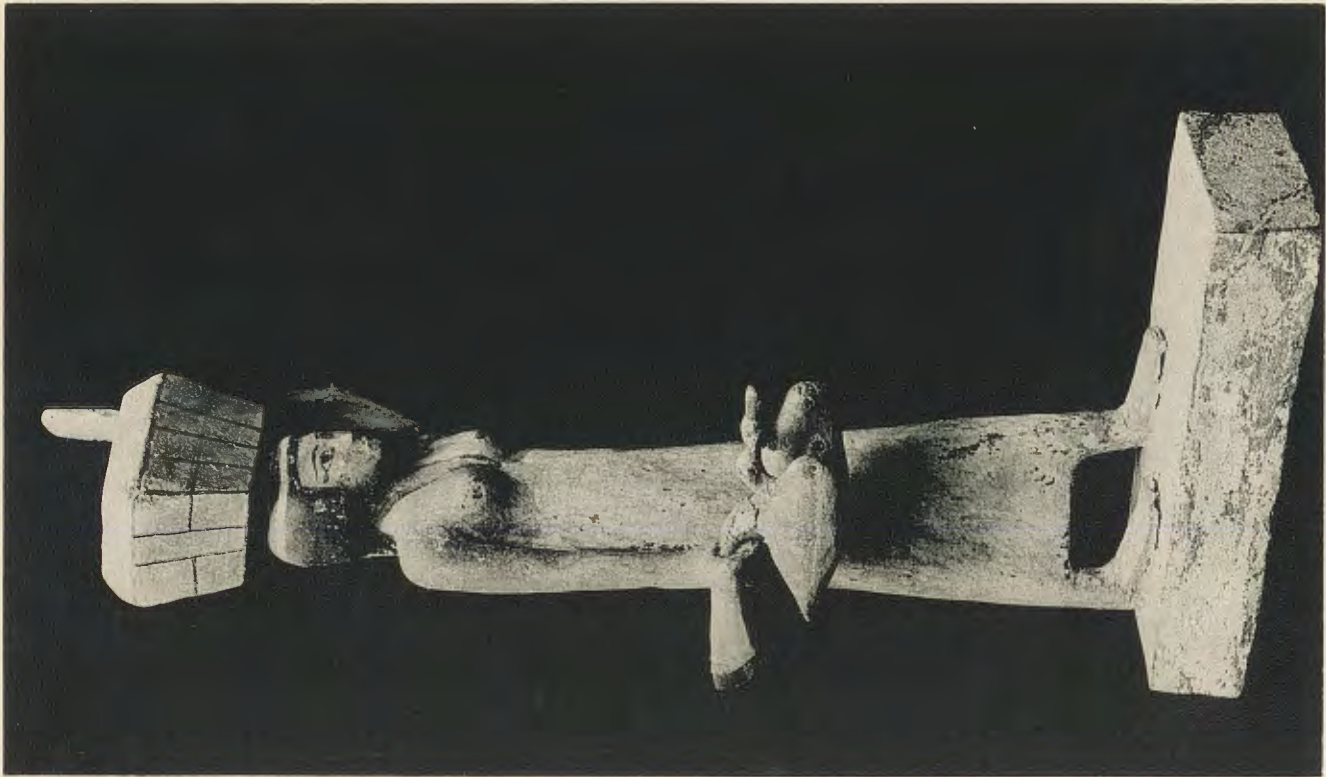
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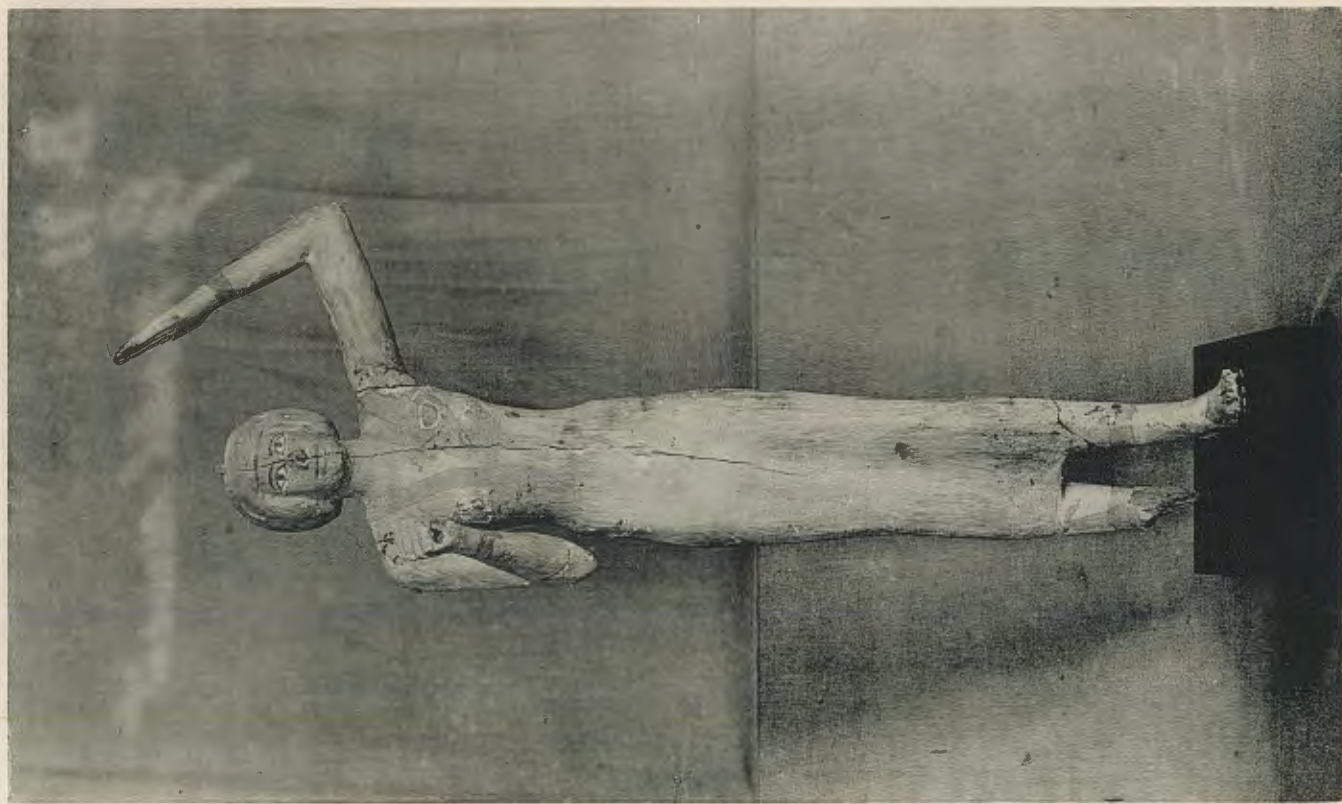
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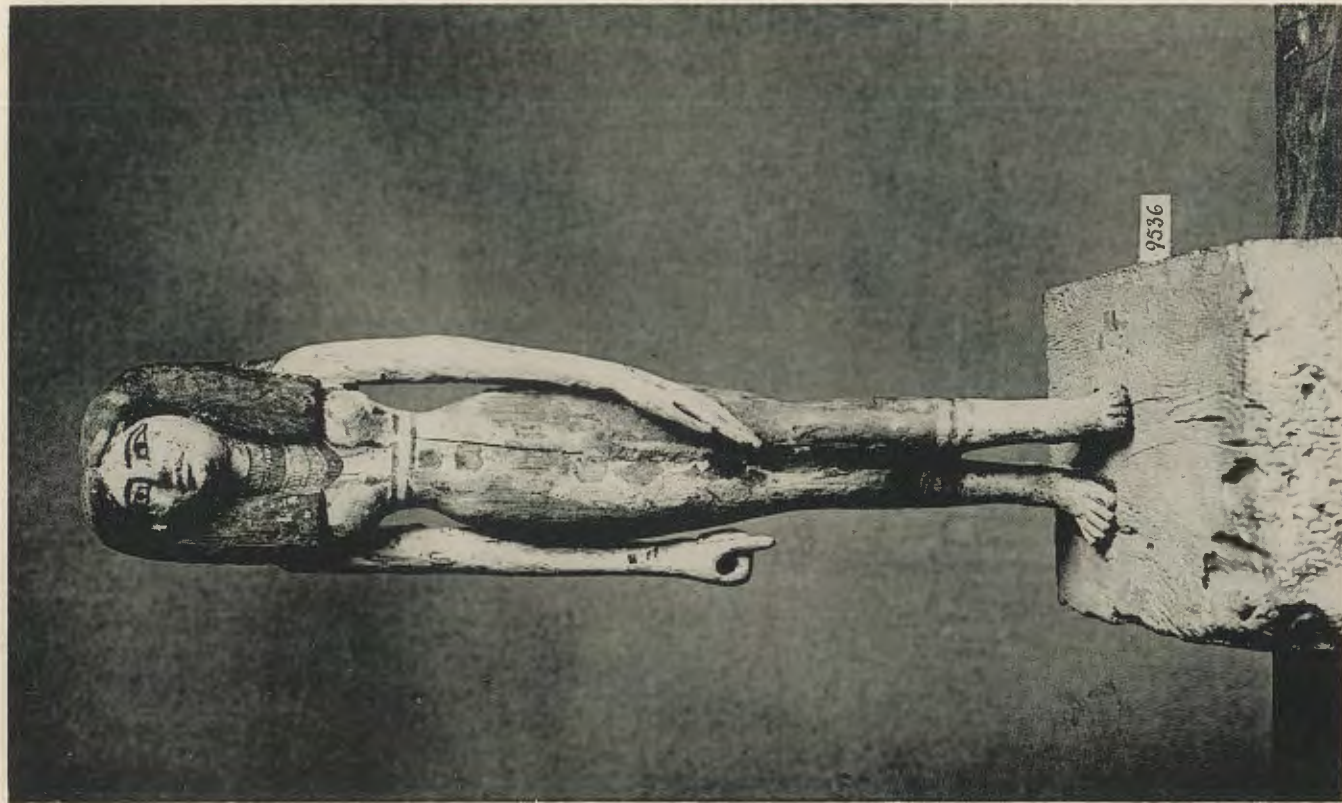
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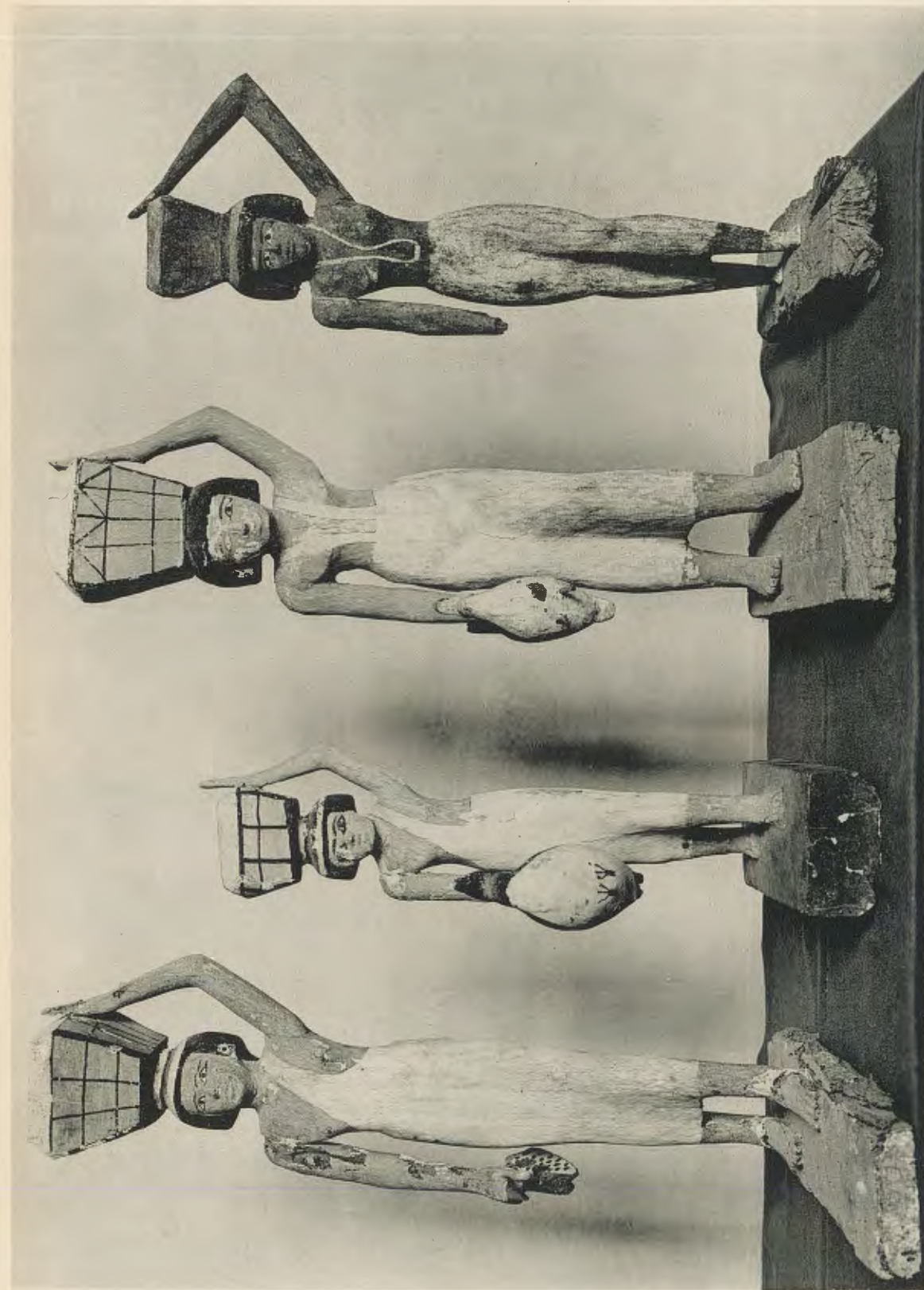
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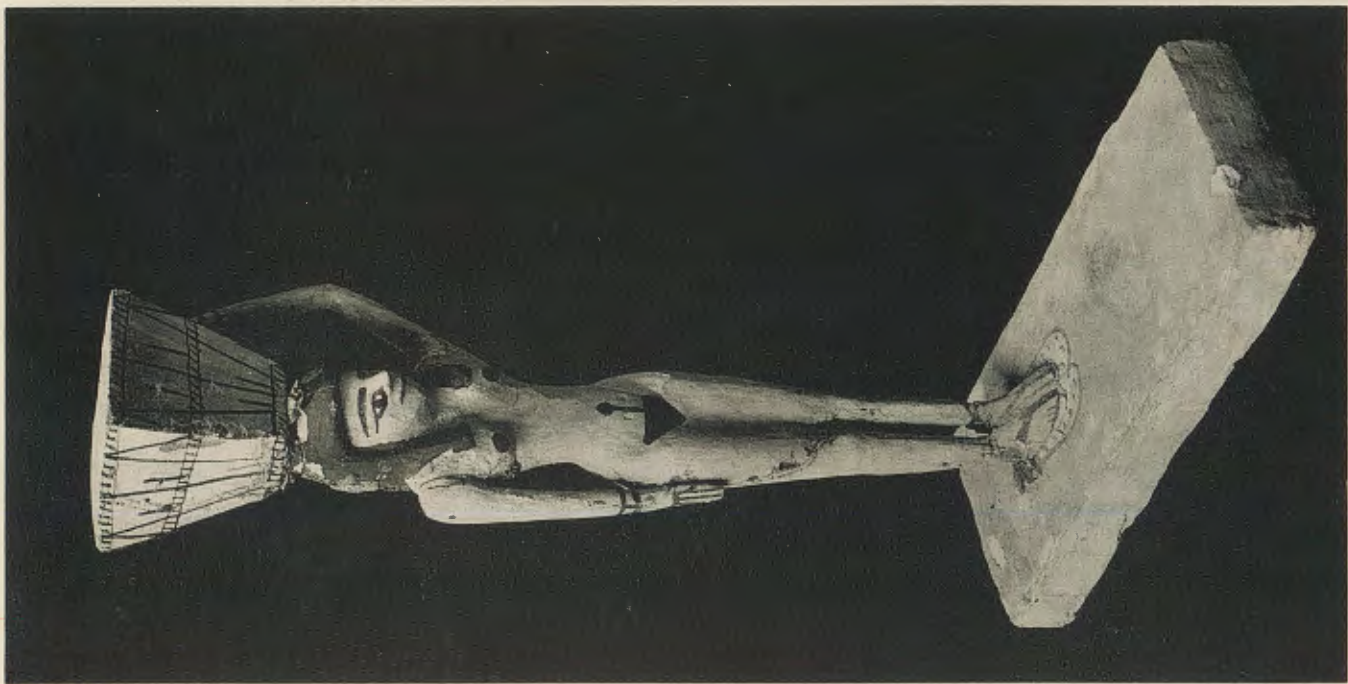


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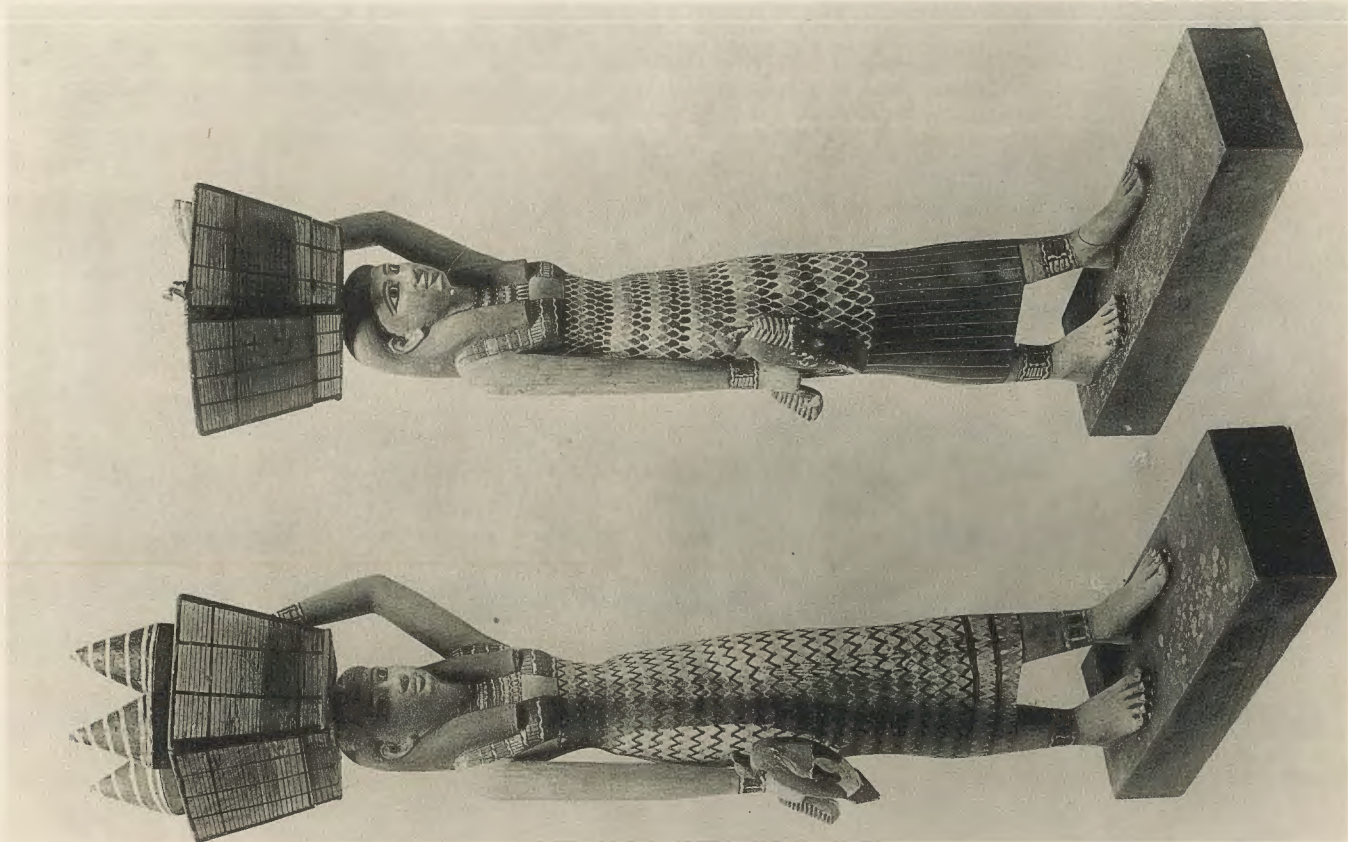


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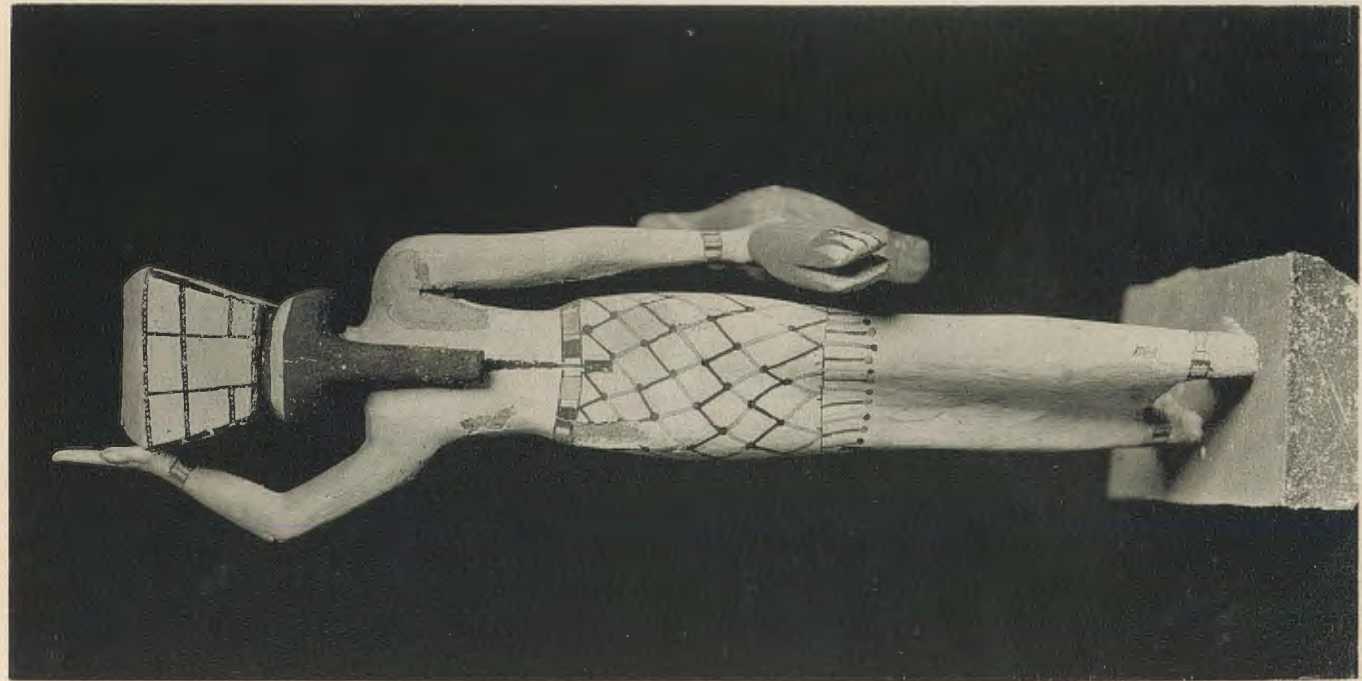




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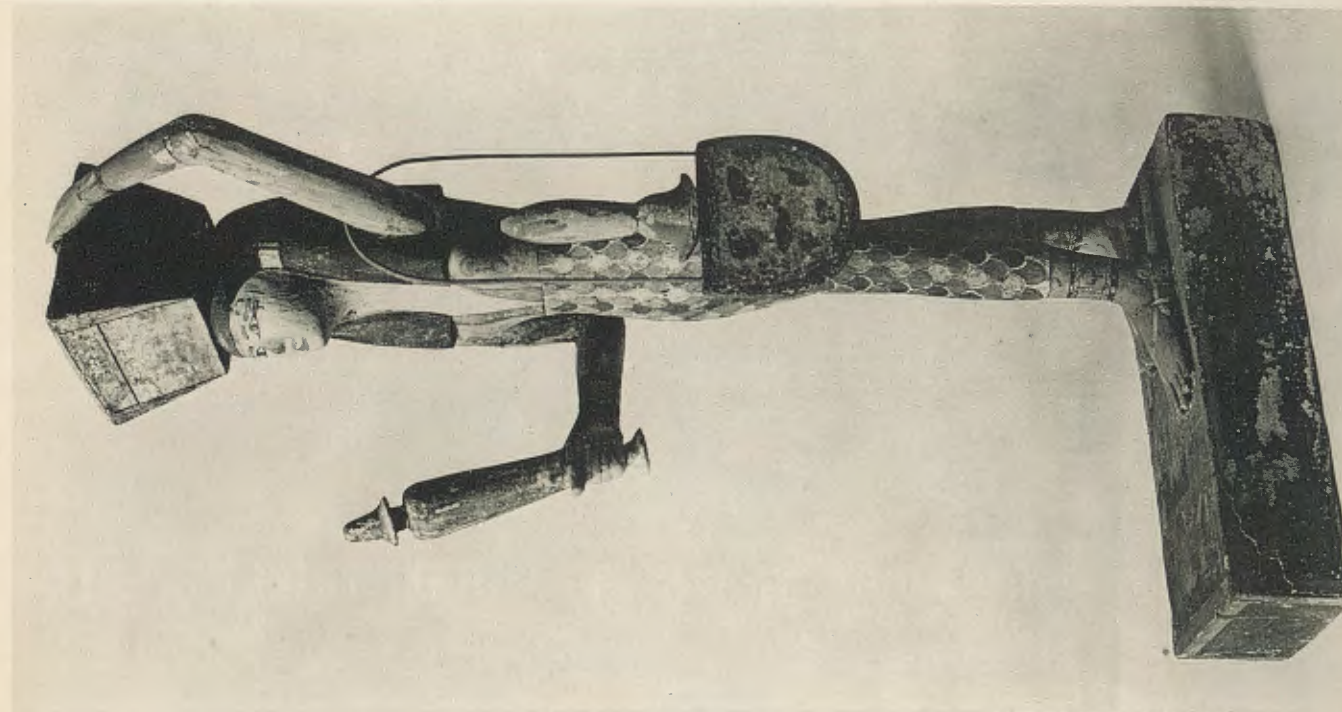
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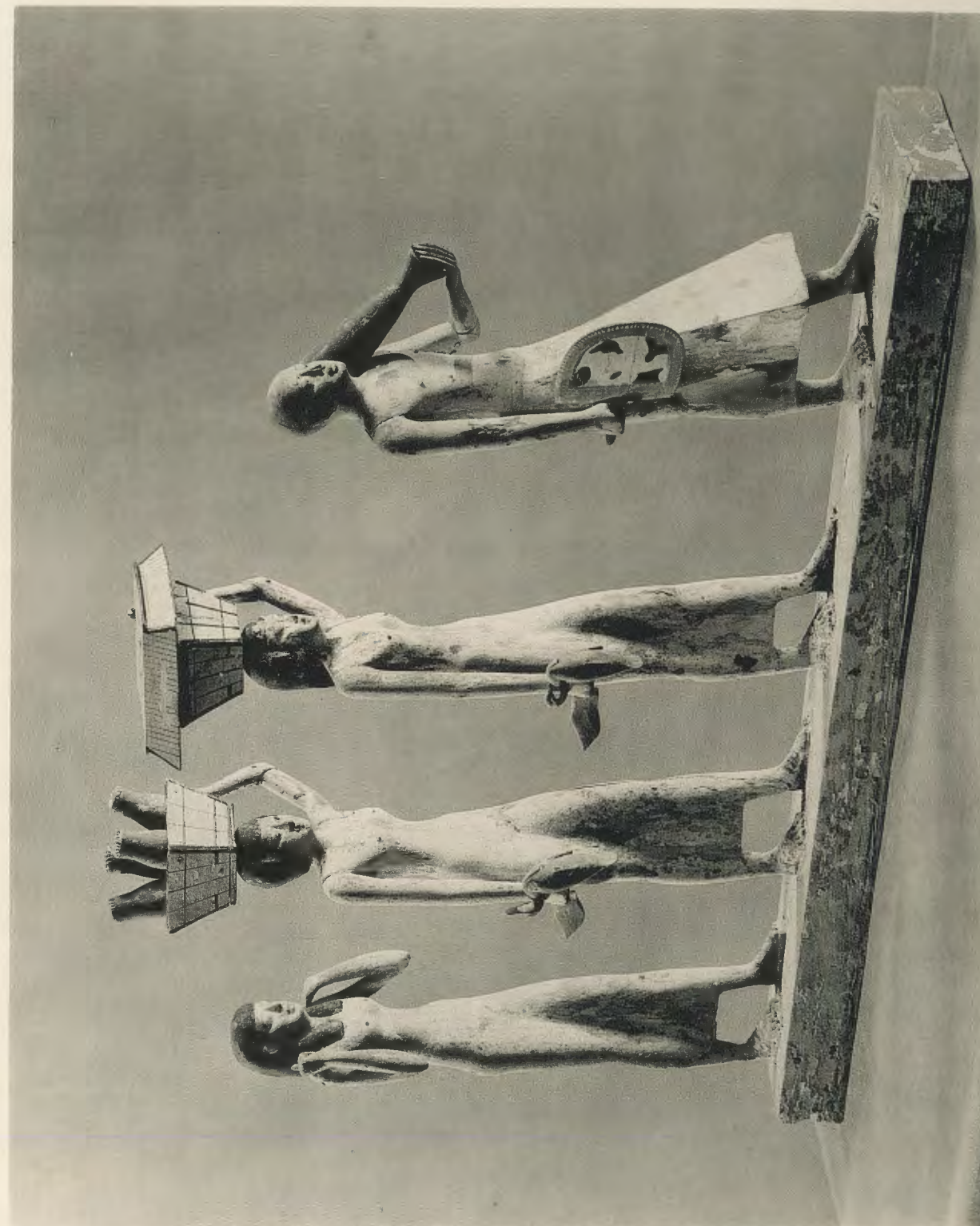
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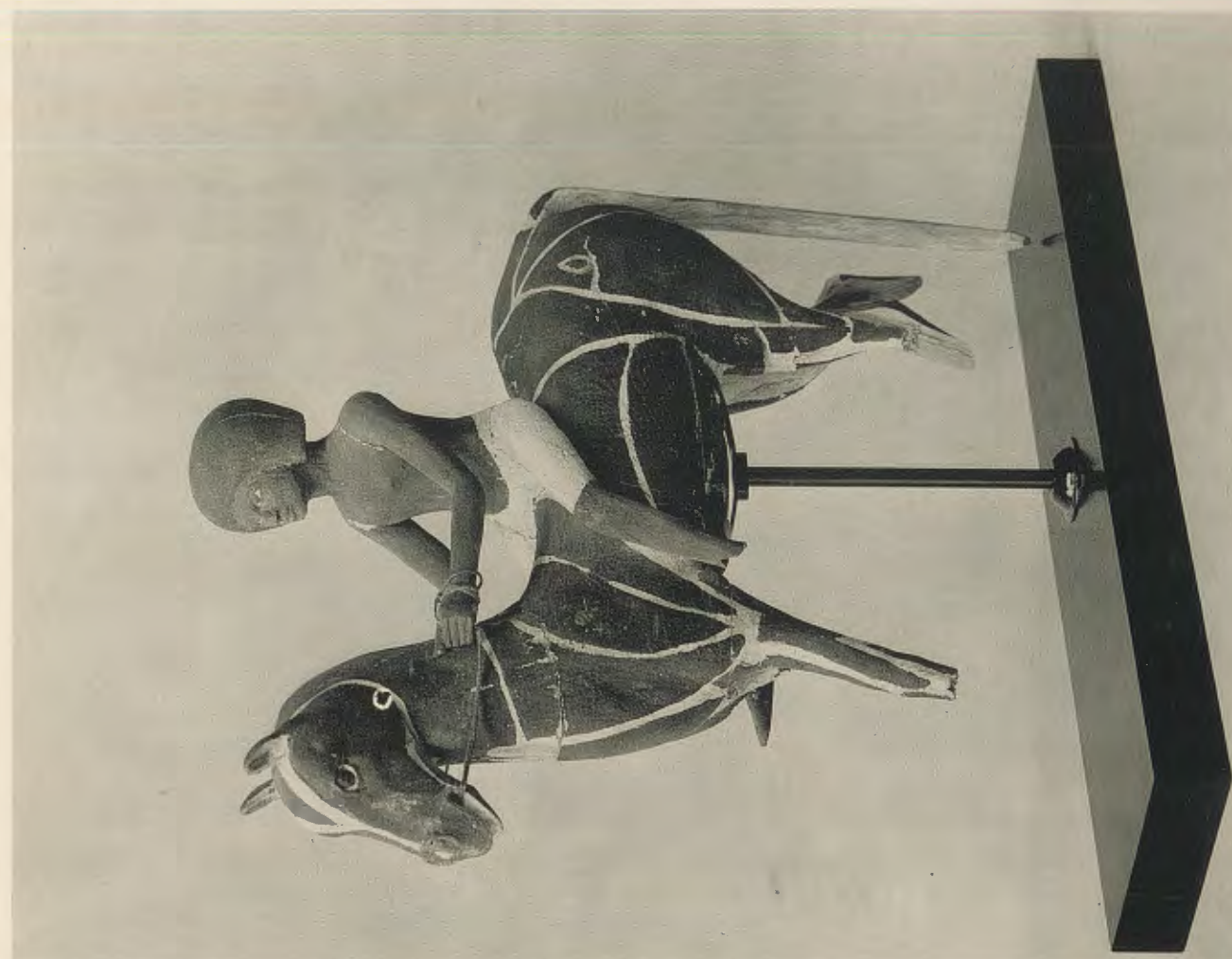
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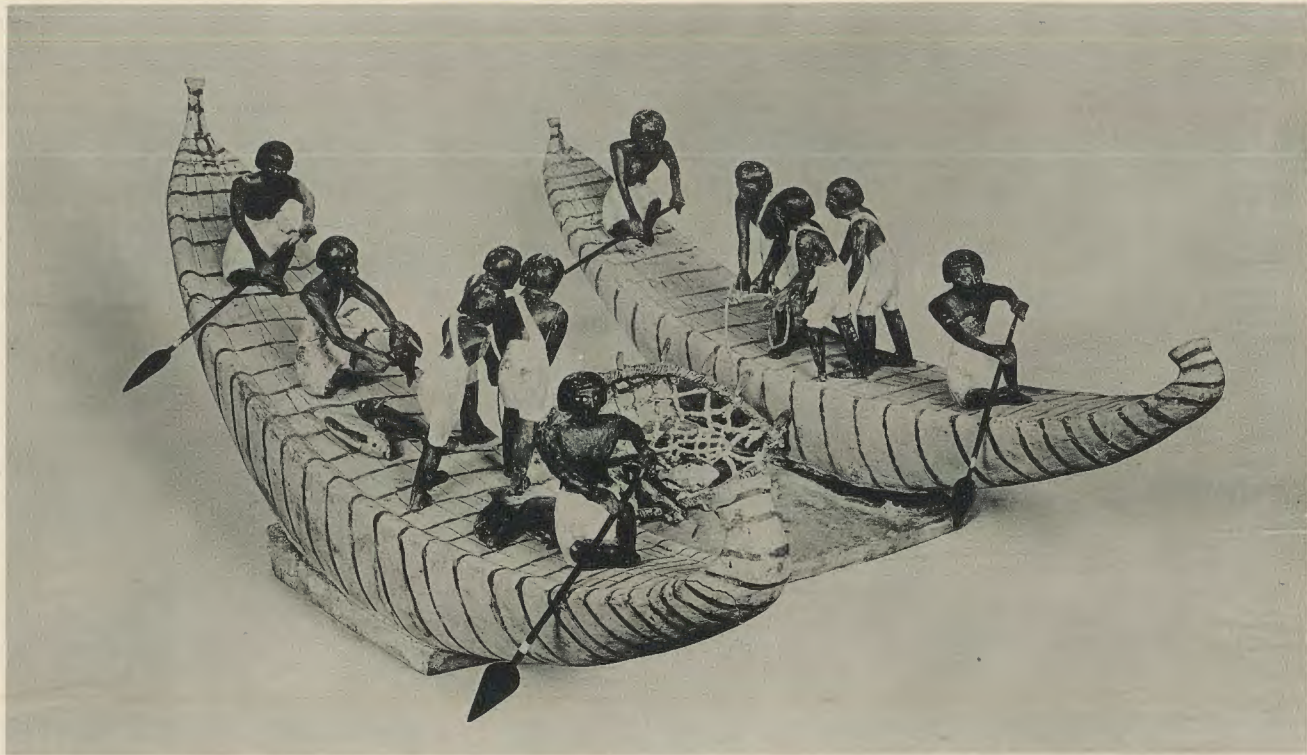
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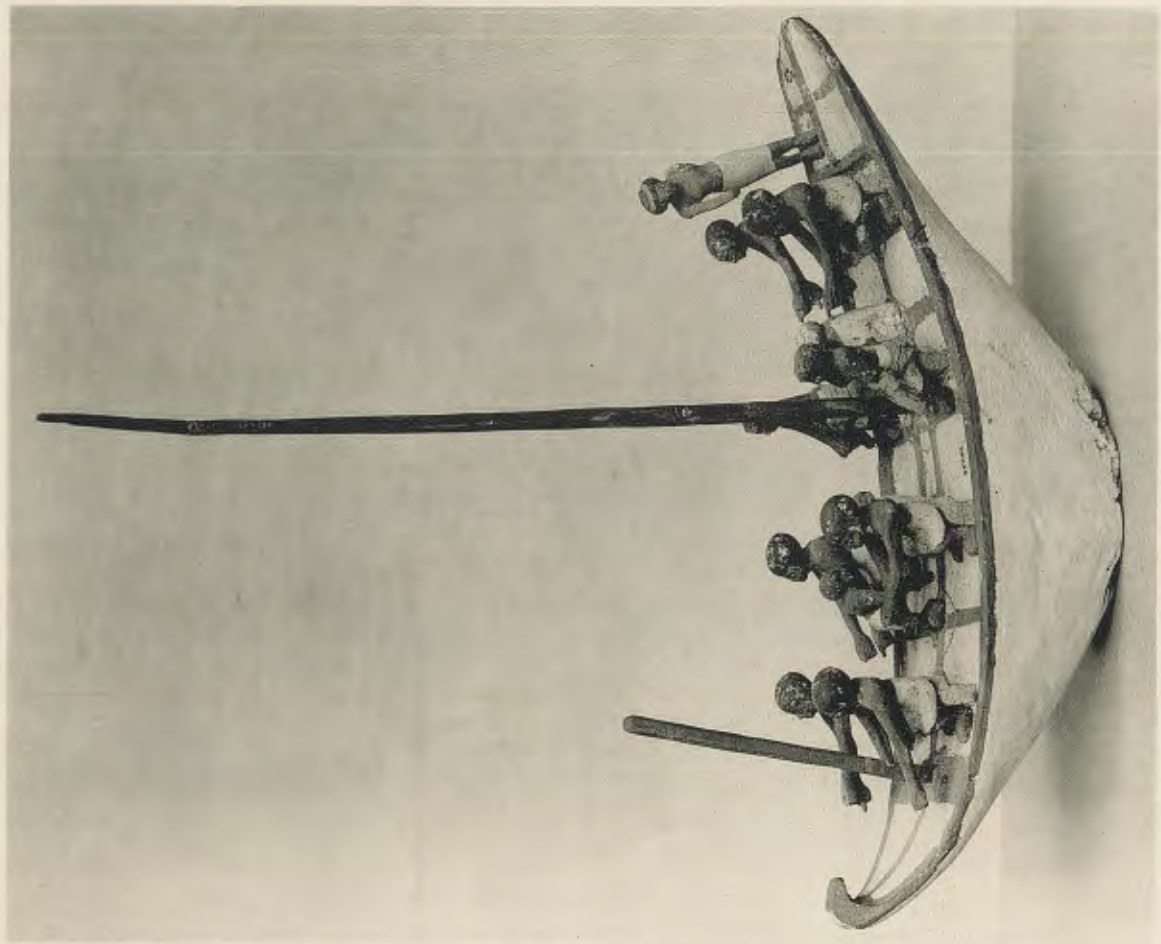
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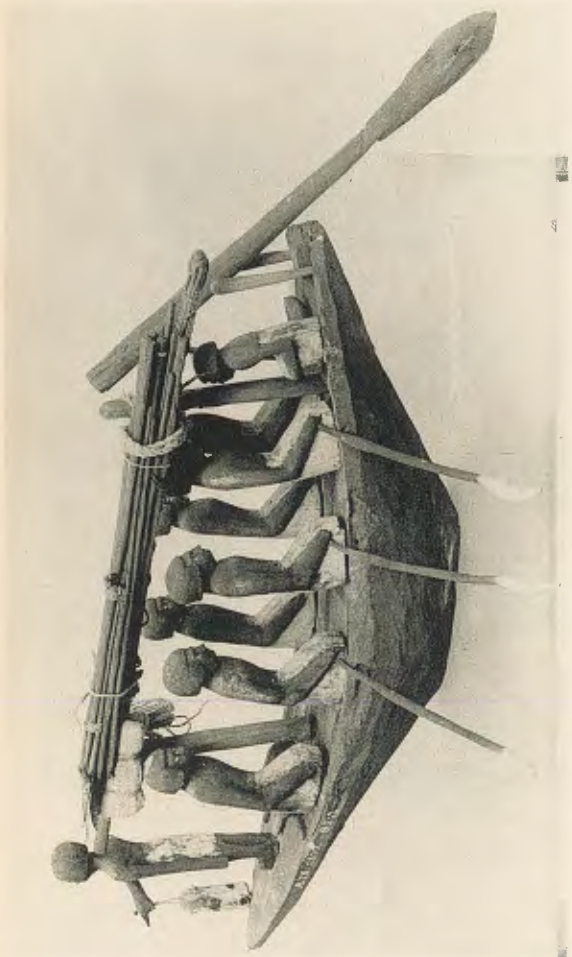
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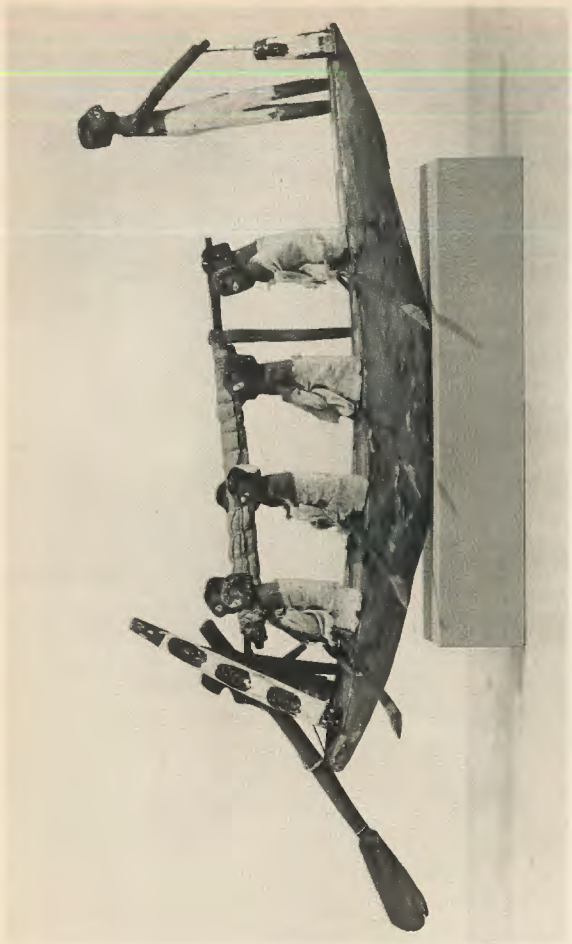
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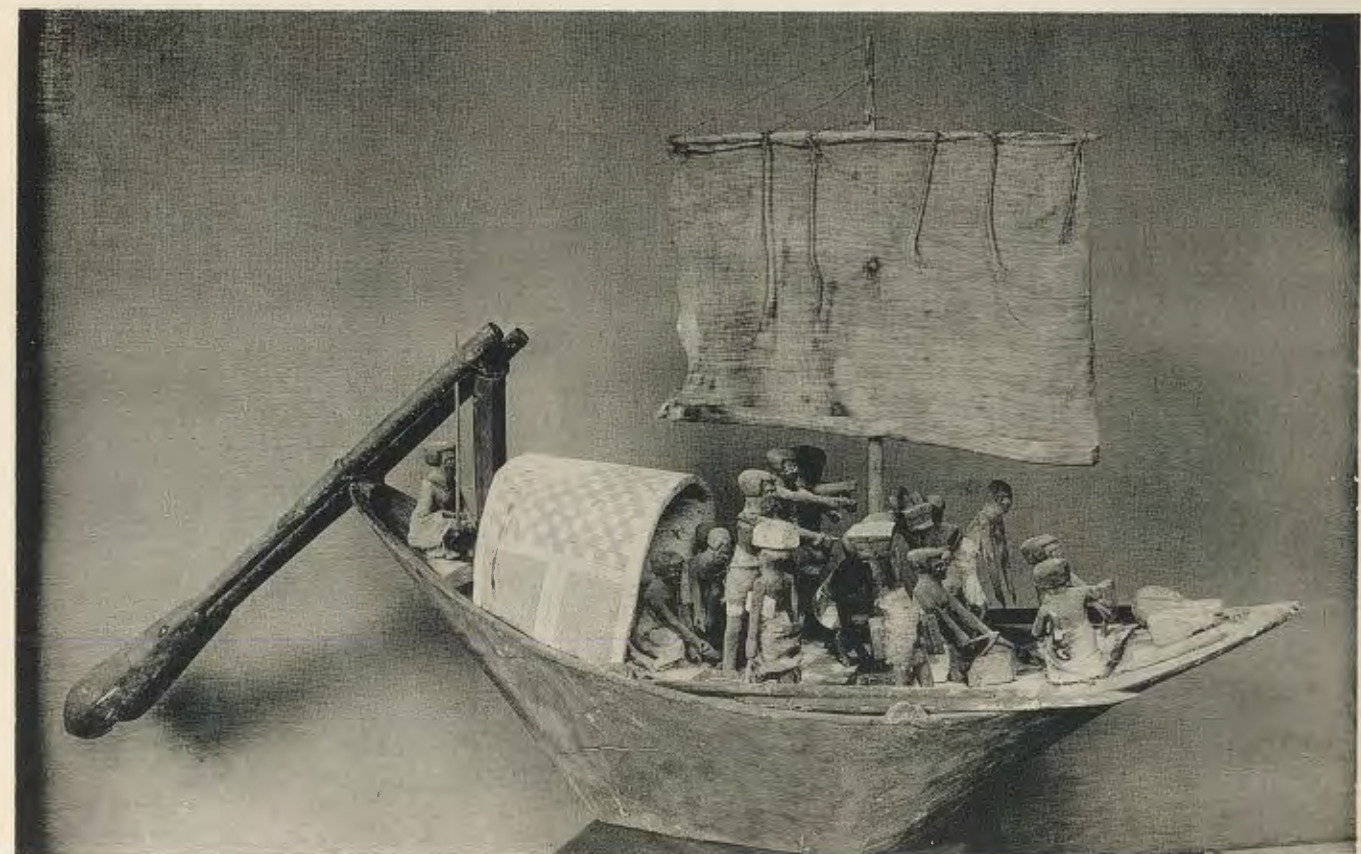
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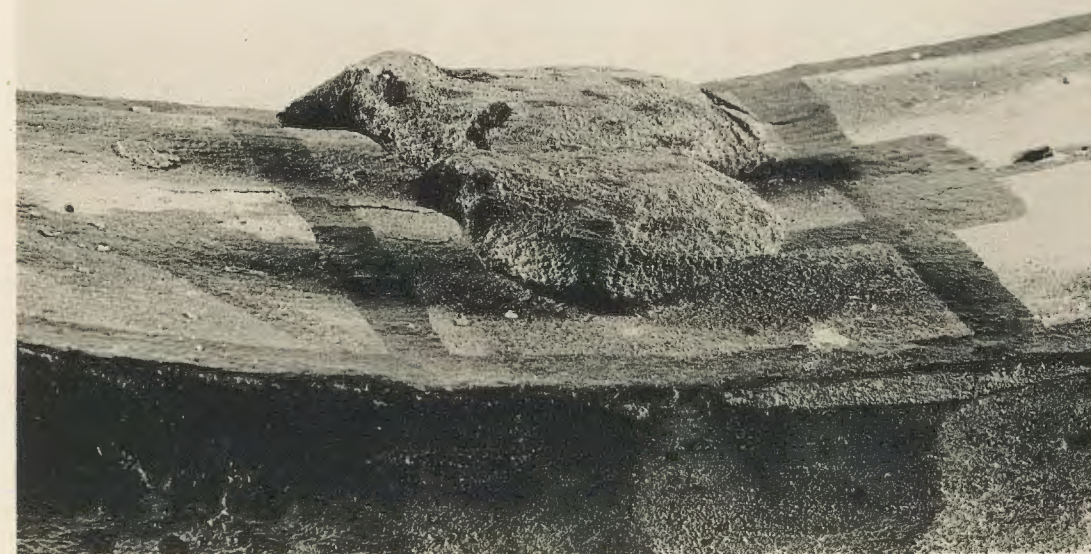
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PL. 82



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PL. 83



PL. 84



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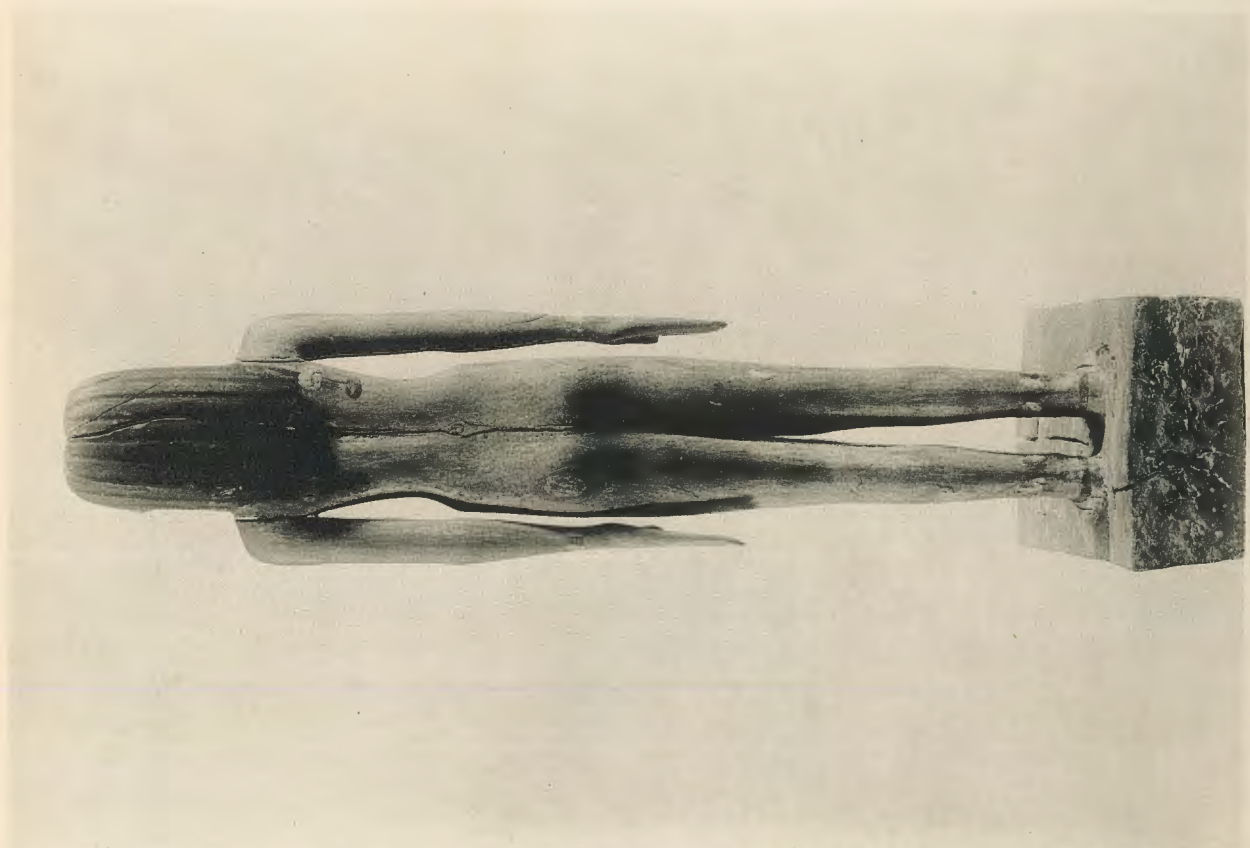
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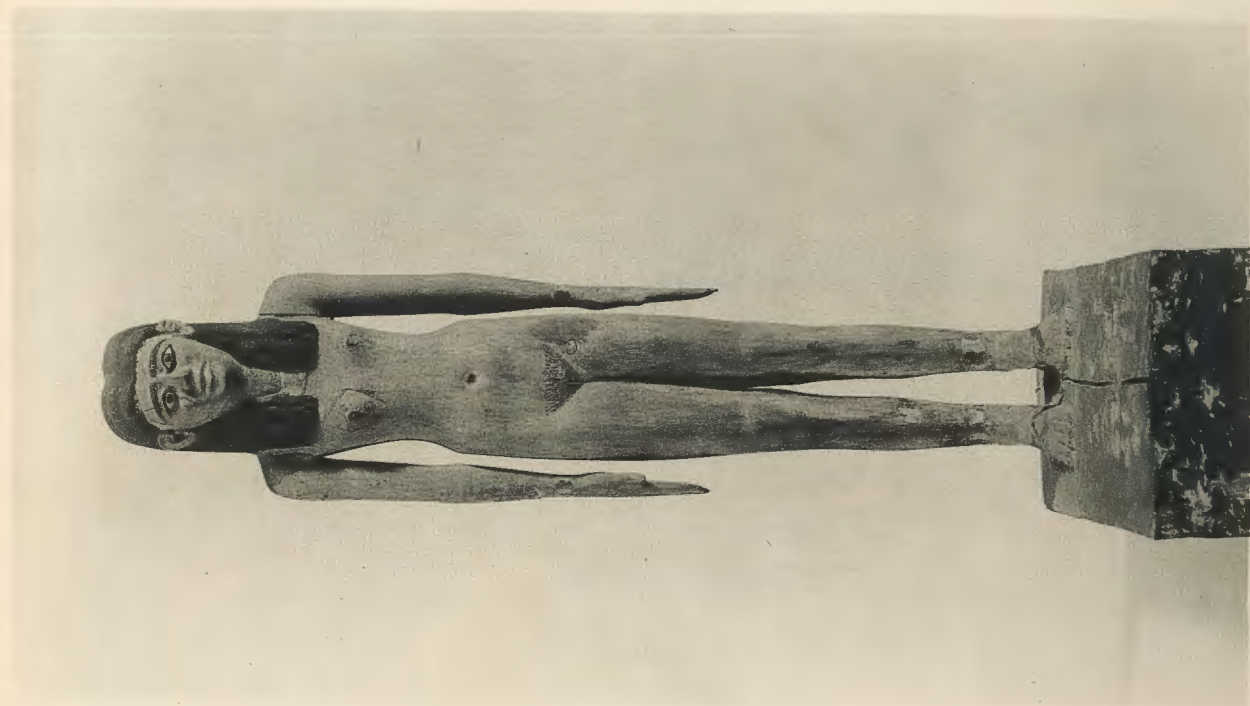
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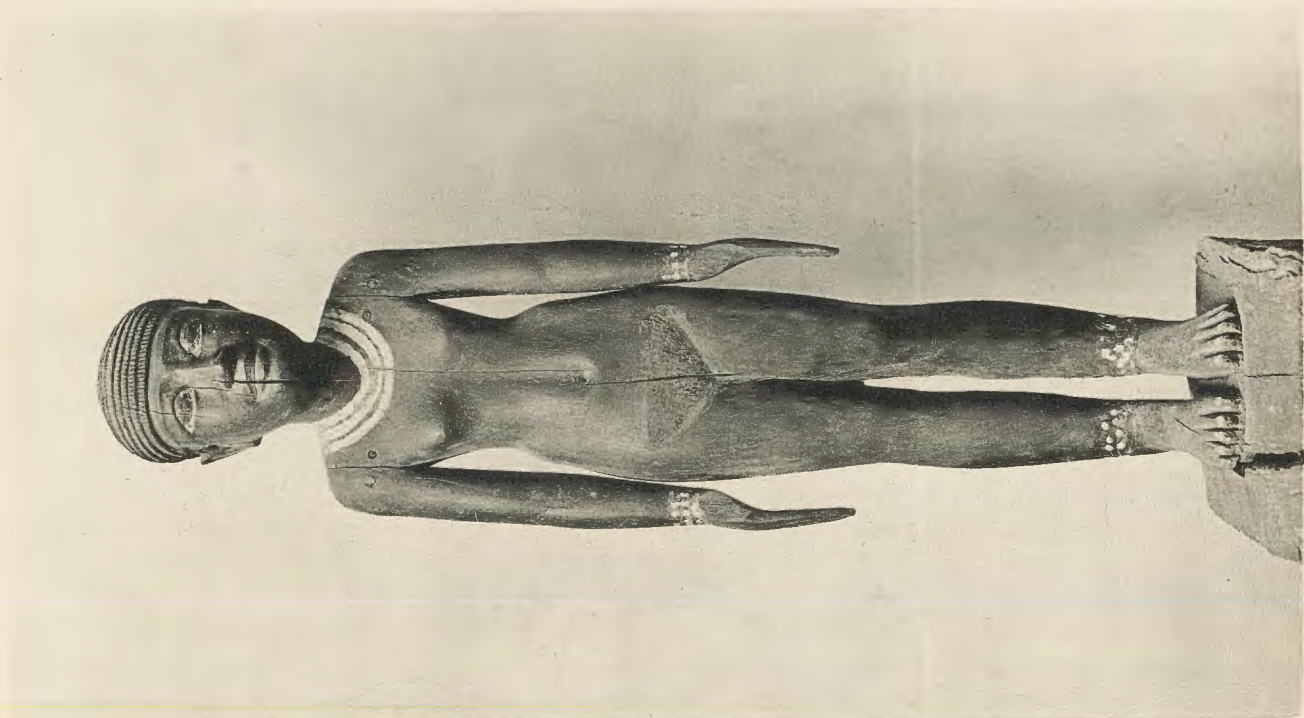
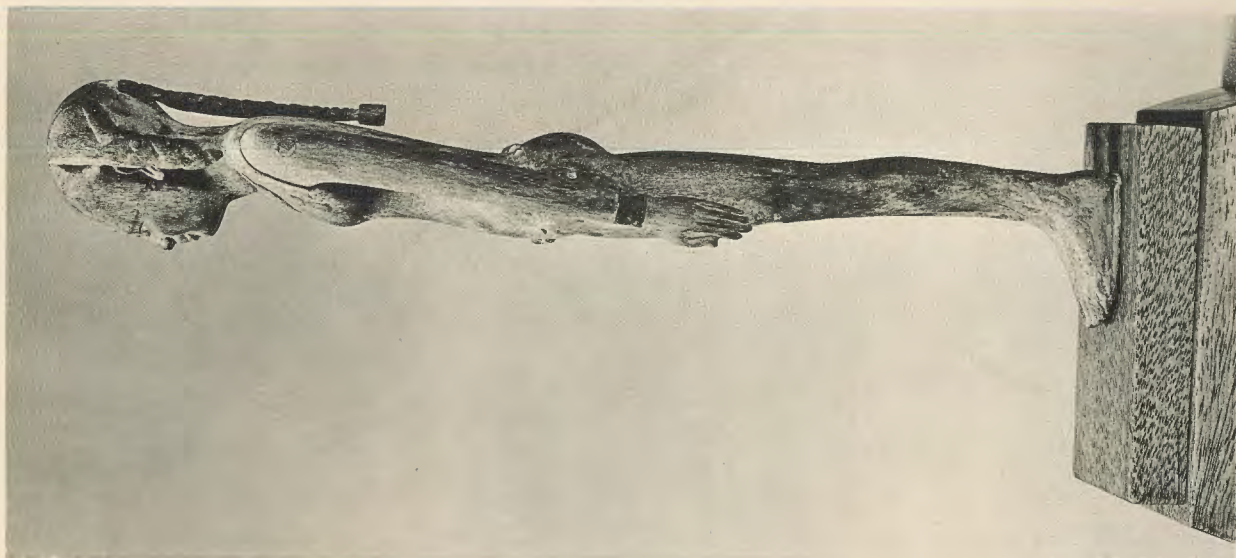
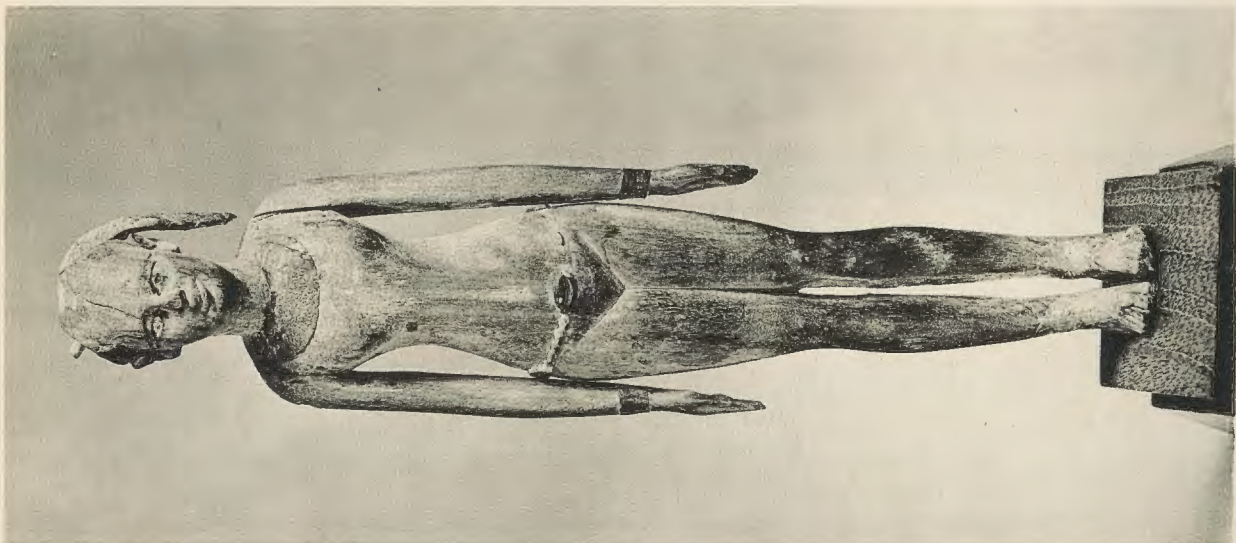
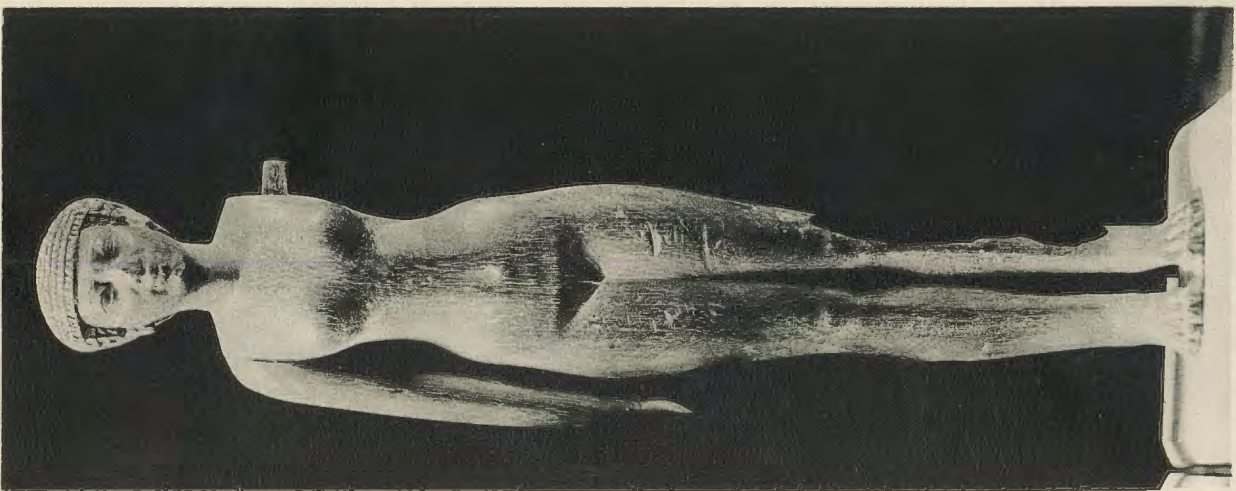
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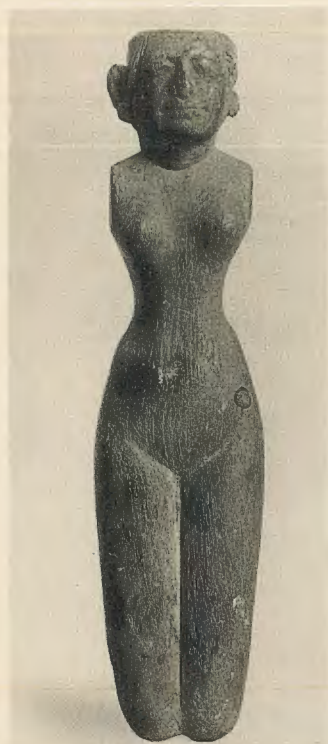


a



b





a



b



c



d

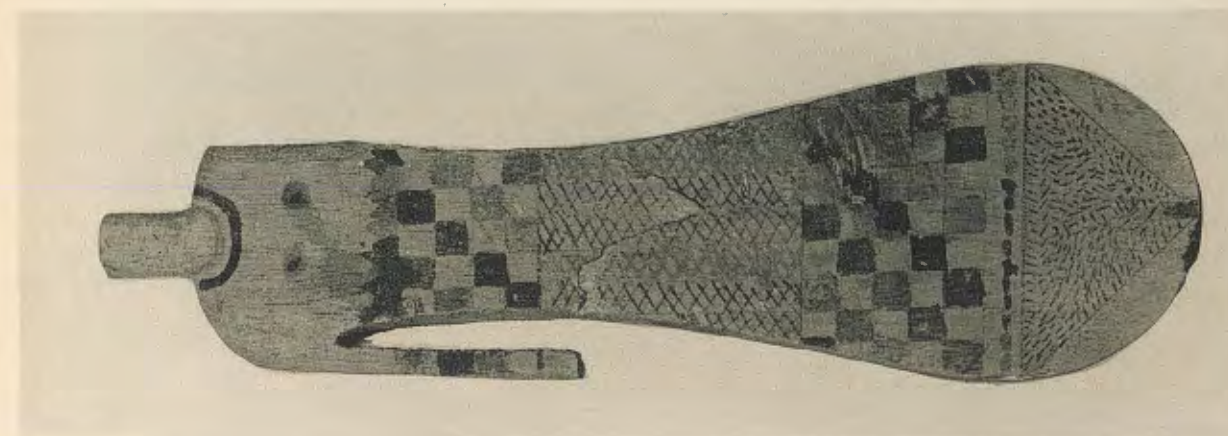
PL. 90



c

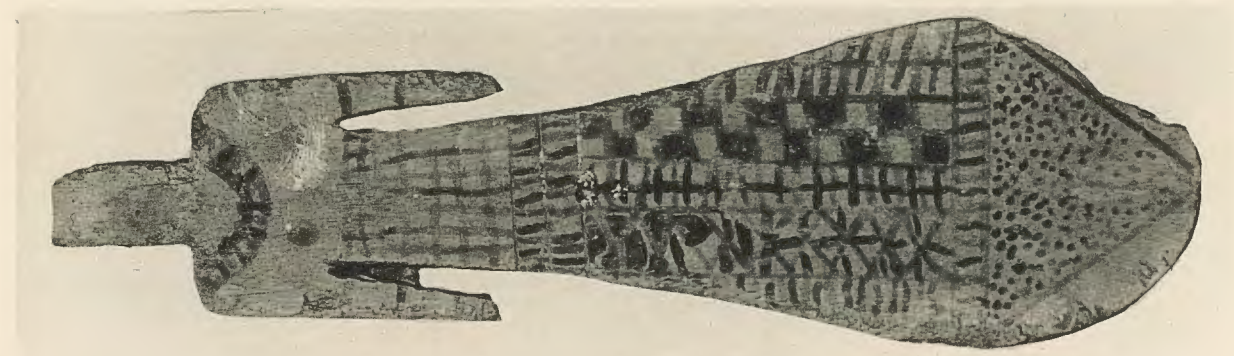


b

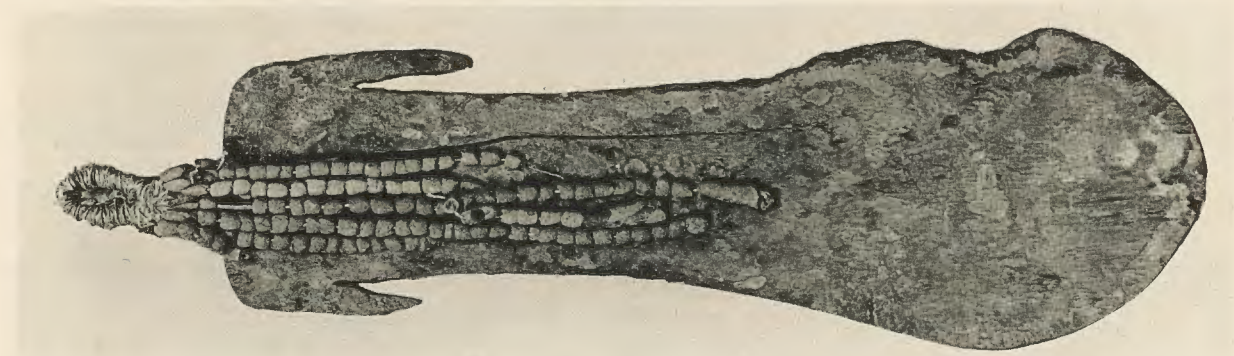


a

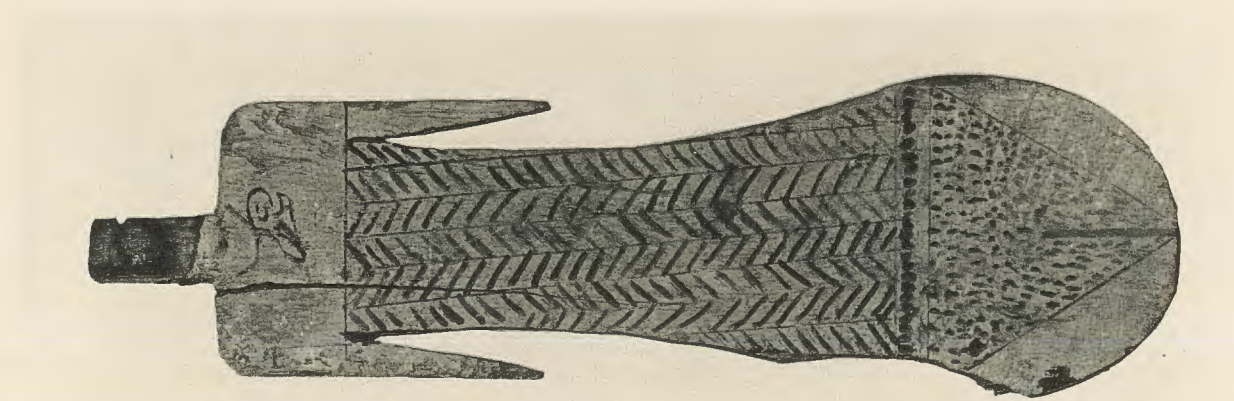
PL. 91



c



b



a



a



b



c



a



b



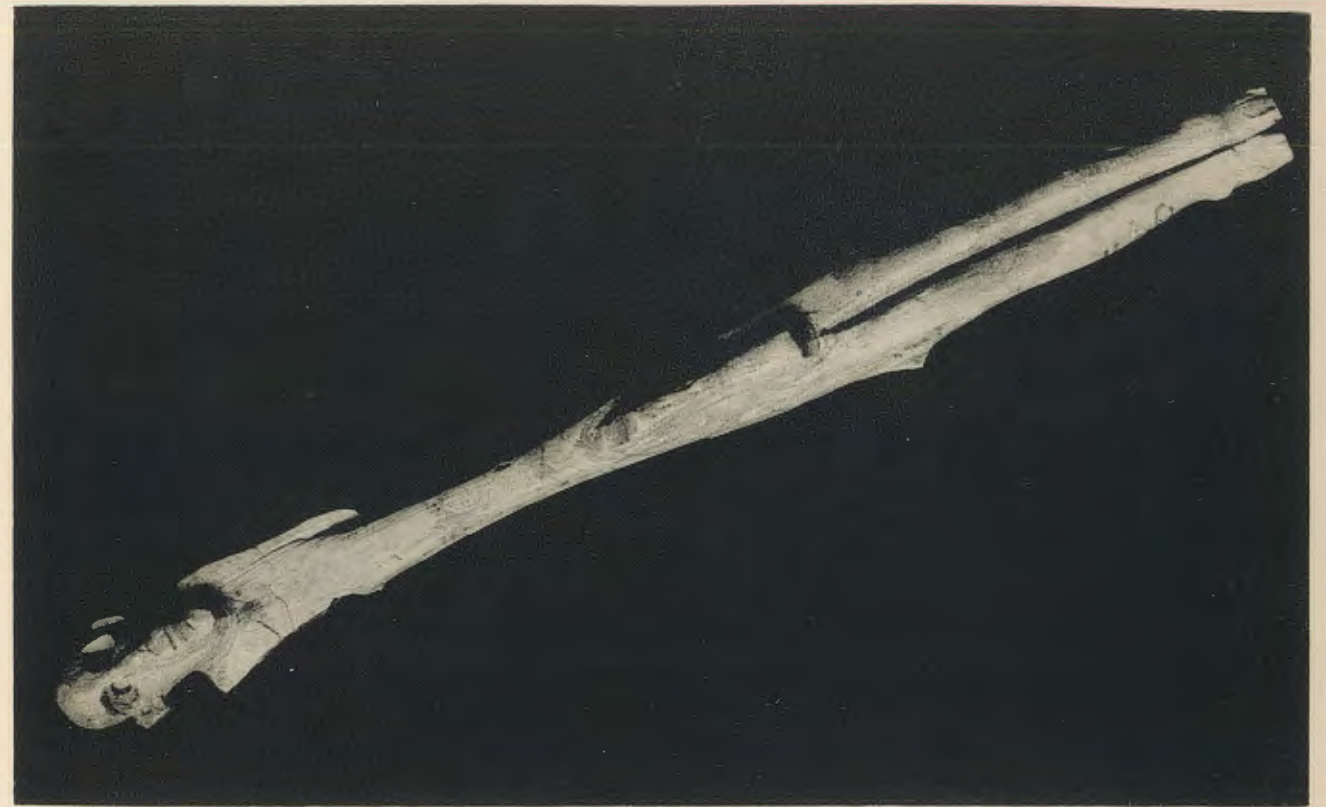
c



d



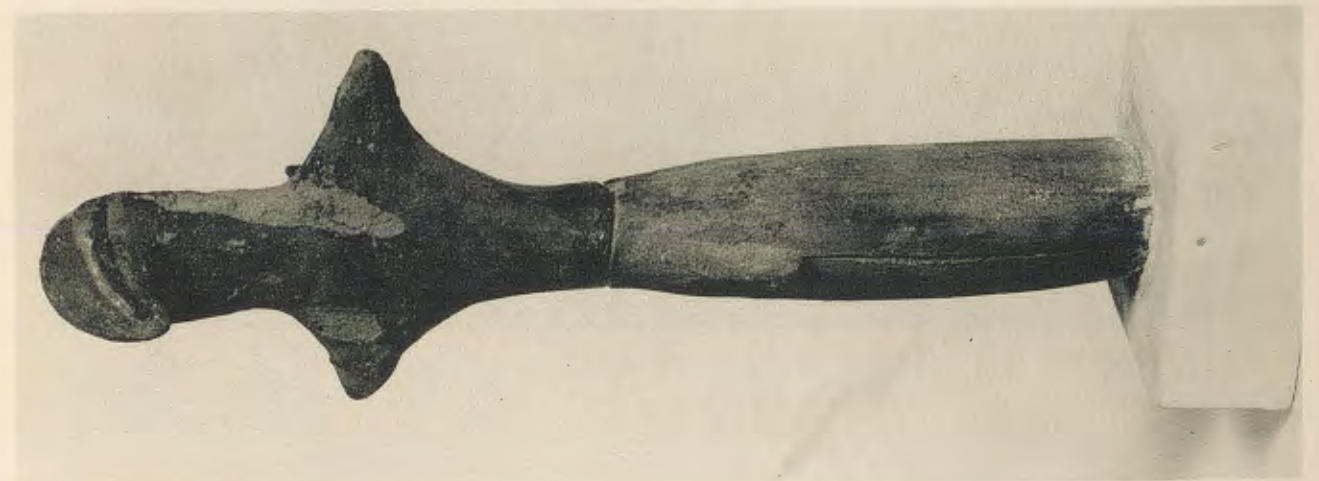
e



c



b



a



a



b



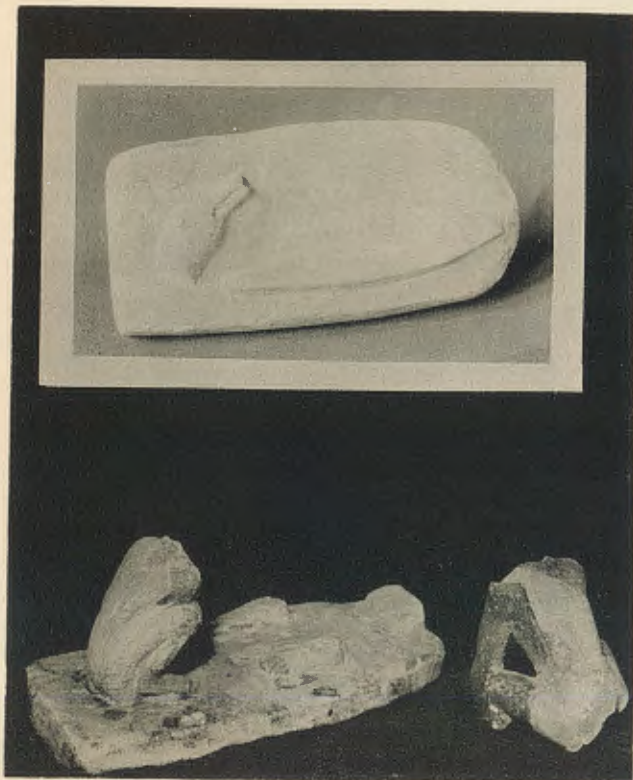
a



b



a



b



c



TO ARCHAEOLOGISTS, EGYPTOLOGISTS,
MUSEUM CURATORS AND COLLECTORS:

If you possess or know of any single servant statues or any model scenes which are not mentioned in this monograph, I would be most grateful to receive the following information about them, together with a clear glossy photograph of each single figure or each model scene, for inclusion in an appendix to the 2nd edition:

1. Description:
 - a). Number of figures, if it is a model scene.
 - b). Material: Identification of stone or wood; mud, clay, ivory, etc.
 - c). Description of action or pose of each figure.
 - d). Condition: Degree of preservation.
 - e). Quality of workmanship.
 - f). Statement of colors used and listing of objects on which each color appears.
 - g). Height of each figure, and dimensions of base (*in cm.*).
 - h). Published references where known; statement as to whether or not it has been published.
2. Name of dealer or other source from whom it was acquired, and date of acquisition.
3. Provenance and date or period, if known. Permission to publish in 2nd edition of EGYPTIAN SERVANT STATUES.

If you have any information of the type which this questionnaire seeks to secure, please address your communication to me at:

Los Angeles County Museum
Exposition Park
Los Angeles 7, California

Your kindness will be warmly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,
JAMES H. BREASTED JR.



JAMES H. BREASTED JR.

• EGYPTIAN SERVANT STATUE

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